Respite with Brezhnev *John Osborne*

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# THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—June 30, 1973, 50 cents

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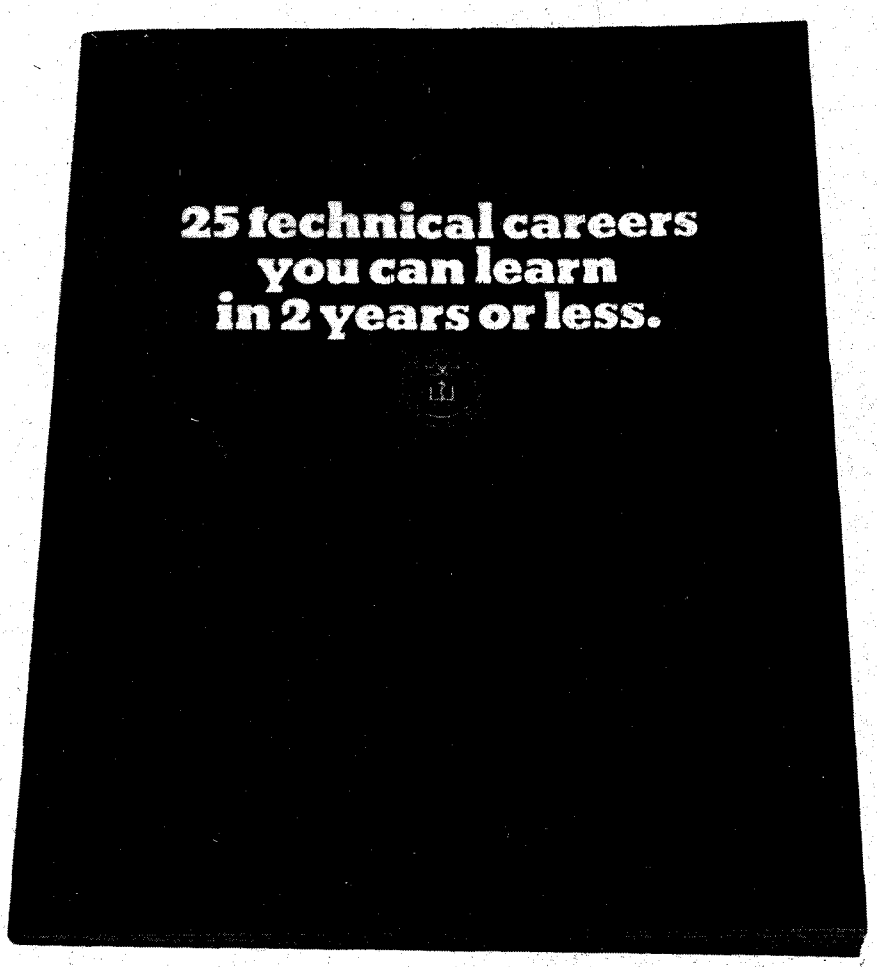


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# TRB

from Washington
June 30, 1973

## News Sense

At O'Hare airport last week I picked up a five-pound copy of *The Chicago Tribune*, the "world's greatest newspaper." It was Sunday, a week before John Dean was to testify. Later that day I would spend five hours reading, as a newsman must, section after section of *The Washington Post* and *New York Times* on Watergate. But in Chicago there was an eight-column splash headline on the front page of the *Tribune*'s final edition: "Lightning Kills 2 in Storm." There was no reference to Watergate on the front page, or until page 32, and that was a sidebar story from the NAACP, that Watergate "hurt civil rights." The big news in Tribuneland was the storm.

This week John Dean testifies and it becomes a question: Do you believe him or Richard Nixon? One of them seems to be lying. But behind that is the bigger question symbolized by the *Tribune*'s complacent parochialism: a constitutional crisis? So what?

Ousted former White House counsel John Dean, 34, says he will testify that the President had prior knowledge of the White House Watergate cover-up. In other words that he was aware of a criminal act. Dean, of course, may be lying. Evidence of a witness who is trying to get immunity, as he is, is suspect. On the other hand Dean has made the White House eat its denials again and again. He disclosed the Ellsberg psychiatric files burglary, and he leaked the story of the secret Nixon plan for a national surveillance agency. When newspapers published his allegation that he had seen the President 35 times between January and April, the White House angrily called the stories a "careful, coordinated strategy" to besmirch the President, using "innuendo, distortion of fact and outright falsehood . . ." Next day (June 4) the White House lamely conceded the Dean figure.

So what? The President's final defense is apathy: the crashing boredom of a scandal that continues beyond the public's attention span, abetted by provincial newspapers like *The Chicago Tribune* that in their hearts know that the ultimate consequence of belittling a conservative President is to damage a low-tax era of conservative "free enterprise."

Here, for example, are two quotations, 50 years apart, one after Teapot Dome when Harding undertook to restore big business "normalcy," and one from today where Mr. Nixon has undertaken to dismantle social programs for the ailing, the indigent and the elderly.

"The weeks and months spent in listening to scores of witnesses of doubtful reputation," scoffed *The Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph*, in 1924, of Senator Walsh's investigation in the marble Caucus Room, "were wholly wasted."

And here is one inserted in the *Congressional Record*, June 13, by Senator Taft, from a letter to *The Cincinnati Enquirer* by Charles Sawyer, former Commerce secretary under Truman:

"The episode [Watergate] has been overworked and the Senate committee has contributed to no result of any benefit to the American people. In fact, this monotonous piling up of second- and third-hand evidence has already dragged on far too long."

Yes, sir; Watergate is a bore; let's get back to the local things: "Lightning Kills 2 in Storm."

We guess Watergate will temporarily remind Americans that Presidents are not kings, but only politicians with 21-gun salutes. Helping this along is the accidental circumstance that for the moment, television is being used impartially. Television, the most dynamic force in a democracy, is not used impartially when it offers itself at prime time whenever the king-President asks for it, to give his side of the story without equal time for his critics. Mr. Nixon gave four discrepant versions of Watergate in April and June. It must seem unfair to him that all three TV networks will broadcast Dean's testimony.

"The life of the White House is the life of a court," writes George Reedy, one-time assistant to President Johnson. He puts it simply: "The trouble with the White House—for anyone who is a part of it—is that when he picks up a telephone and tells people to do something, they usually do it."

Reedy's book, *The Twilight of the Presidency*, came out in 1970 and is the best explanation of Watergate, and the presidency, that I know. It is now reprinted in paperback, a Mentor book, for $1.25. Here is the deification of the presidency, begun in childhood in schools with ritual veneration of Flag, White House and the Man Who Is In It, and carried through life in a political system that combines in one frail human the head of government and the head of state. As we have said till it bores you, the parliamentary system doesn't do that; monarch and prime minister are different; Canada would have settled Watergate in a month by an election. We can't hold an election; there is no political escape hatch; we are living in a tenement without a fire-escape. Short of resignation or impeachment we are stuck with the President for three years.

"A President," says Reedy, "can be rude, insulting, and even downright sadistic to his closest advisers and their only response will be: 'How fortunate that he has people around him who understand the tremendous burdens he is carrying.'" "A President," he continues, "moves through his days surrounded by literally hundreds of people whose relationship to him is that of a doting mother to a spoiled child."

As the power of the United States increases so does the responsibility of the President and his isolation. There is, to be sure, the press; it could keep the President in touch with reality. But it is nearly always resented and by no one more so than Mr. Nixon. FDR averaged 83 press conferences a year; Mr. Nixon has averaged seven; 34 in all in office. He has been in hiding since March 15.

A professor saw Reedy's manuscript and told him the American audience would demand a solution to his problem. Reedy says that originally he planned to submit a plan of parliamentary government. He dropped it, he says simply, because he doesn't think the US will accept it. No, he concludes, chillingly, our rigid government "basically centers on one man," and is always tempted toward repression. "The more probable outcome of our current difficulties," he concludes, "will be a 'man on horseback.'" This is why he calls the book "the twilight of the presidency." Will Watergate alter this? Maybe for a while. But how long is the national attention span . . . "Lightning Kills 2 in Storm."

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# A Second, Separate Investigation

The abuses multiply daily. Illegal wiretaps on the Democrats were planned in the office of the attorney general, the nation's chief law enforcement official. Almost two million dollars in cash was disbursed by the President's political aides, a bundle of it going for illicit schemes. A suitcase with $350,000 in cash was secretly requested by and delivered to the President's top White House aide. Mr. Nixon's two principal White House advisers ordered the CIA deputy director to delay an FBI investigation. The White House handed evidence to the acting FBI director and he destroyed it. A Nixon campaign official was prepared to take the blame for criminal activities after receiving assurances from the former attorney general and the White House counsel that his family would be taken care of financially, a job would be provided after a jail sentence and executive clemency might shorten his term. That same campaign official, after allegedly telling the President's chief aide he was planning to commit perjury in the Watergate trial, was offered a government job. The President's personal lawyer raised hush money for the Watergate burglars. Both political parties influenced government decisions which had the effect of circumventing the tax and securities laws so as to benefit big contributors. An American corporation sent funds to Mexico, "laundering" a campaign contribution that would otherwise be illegal. The President's appointments secretary hired a friend who employed others to commit acts of political sabotage, at least one of which resulted in indictments.

This is an incomplete summary, but it's enough to suggest the magnitude of the task before the Ervin Select Senate Committee to investigate the 1972 presidential election. After four weeks of public hearings, the committee at best is only halfway through its study of the Watergate bugging and break-in, the planning that preceded it and the cover-up that followed. It should take at least another month to wind that up. Then the committee will turn to the espionage and sabotage conducted by the reelection organization in 1972 against Democratic presidential aspirants. And then, further down the road, is the detailed study of campaign financing.

The sensationalism and multiplicity of the outrages to which we have been exposed may explain why there has been so little public or congressional interest in the recently disclosed July 1970 domestic

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intelligence-gathering plan drafted by the Nixon administration, which foreshadowed subsequent government-sponsored wiretapping, bugging, burglary and surveillance here and abroad against students, newsmen and government employees in the name of national security. As Walter Pincus reported in our last issue, it was a plan to manipulate for domestic purposes an intelligence community built up during the '50s and '60s to combat Communist subversion overseas. As drafted by a young Nixon aide, Tom Charles Huston, the plan boiled down to totalitarian harassment of dissent. It is also astounding that nonpolitical intelligence professionals would cooperate. Richard Helms, the CIA director, was described as helpful though his agency was legally barred from domestic activities.

In his May 22, 1973 statement on Watergate, the President said his initial approval of the 1970 blueprint was rescinded some 13 days after it went into effect. He did not, however, say that it was abandoned. Nor was it. The FBI, as its own documents show, stepped up its wiretapping and campus infiltration in the name of internal security. We don't know whether it stepped up burglaries as well. Nor do we know whether the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency undertook surveillance and wiretaps of Americans abroad as contemplated.

This matter requires immediate, separate and full investigation on a par with the Watergate inquiry. The investigation should start with the "surreptitious entry" into the offices of the psychiatrist who treated Daniel Ellsberg. Long after that entry was known, the President stated that the White House special investigative unit which sponsored the break-in had as its "principal purpose . . . to stop security leaks and to investigate other sensitive security matters." What were they? Egil Krogh, who was put in charge of the White House intelligence unit, said in a court deposition that as part of his efforts to "determine the source of [news] leaks," he had approved the break-in. But Krogh has never specified the connection with security, if any. Krogh's boss, John Ehrlichman, told the FBI that "there was information available that Ellsberg had emotional and moral problems and [the burglars] . . . sought to determine the full facts relating to these traits." Mr. Ehrlichman himself may have emotional and moral problems for all we know, but what has that to do with national security?

Thanks to Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt, Jr., who was part of Krogh's intelligence unit, we have a more plausible explanation of what the group was up to. "There was some concern in the White House," Hunt told the grand jury, "about the appropriateness of seeing the prosecution actually take place with regard to Dr. Ellsberg and his associates." At the time, July-August 1971, Ellsberg had been indicted for distributing the Pentagon papers and a trial was scheduled for the 1972 election year. "I shared that concern," Hunt went on, "my own feeling being that he [Ellsberg] would probably become a martyr looking at things politically . . . It was felt, and I believe [it was] Mr. Krogh who was the lawyer [who] suggested it would be well if something could . . . be found whereby a judgment would be made on Ellsberg in regard to his prosecutability . . . We . . . concluded that the best instant sources of a full read-out, or a reasonably full read-out on Dr. Ellsberg would be through whatever files the psychiatrist had been maintaining on him during the period that Dr. Ellsberg was under analysis." Thus it was that a "bag job," as it is called in these underground circles, was undertaken. Planned in the White House, it received technical support from CIA, employed former CIA agents as the burglars who were paid with funds supplied by White House aide Charles Colson. Colson has said the funds came from campaign contributors. Was this national security or was it political witchery?

Quite distinct from Republican '72 politics, though the politics grew out of them, White House domestic intelligence activities, from 1969 on, demand a congressional investigation of their own. Congressional oversight of the intelligence community has been insignificant. Under J. Edgar Hoover the FBI for 48 years went its own way unhampered and unexamined. The CIA had limited oversight until the death several years ago of Senator Richard Russell; it has had almost none since. The National Security Agency, though it runs a multibillion-dollar overseas electronic eavesdropping operation, has since its founding in 1952 had almost no outside scrutiny. Only the Appropriations Committees of the Congress regularly review it, and they normally spend just half a day approving its budget. That CIA and NSA may have been using their resources to conduct intelligence gathering against Americans abroad has never been considered by Congress.

In short, a hard look at domestic intelligence should be taken by a new select committee put together from members of committees with jurisdiction over the FBI (Judiciary), CIA (Armed Services) and NSA (Appropriations). Its investigative and hearing techniques would, by the nature of the subject matter, differ sharply from the Ervin committee's public exposure of wrongdoing. Closed hearings would necessarily be the rule, followed by release of scrubbed-up transcripts and perhaps public sessions on committee findings and recommendations. A workable system of congressional intelligence oversight is overdue, as is a sharpening of laws defining the roles of intelligence units. The Ervin committee, which has talked of venturing into the domestic intelligence field, should yield that honor and continue to focus on the 1972 presidential election campaign. There is work enough to occupy the full-time attention of two committees.

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# Arms Sales

Government policy toward foreign military assistance is in a state of flux because of a curious bipartisan attempt to make it more consistent with the so-called Nixon Doctrine. Both the administration and Senator Fulbright have introduced bills to shift the emphasis from grants to sales. The rationale is that after $80 billion of US military aid to foreign countries since World War II, American taxpayers should now be spared an annual $.5 billion contribution to the defenses of roughly one-third of the countries of the world.

While the Fulbright measure would accelerate the phasing out of this welfare program, it would have little overall effect on the administration's designs. US arms sales—a projected $5.4 billion for fiscal 1974—have more than quadrupled since Mr. Nixon first became President. The recent announcement of military sales to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait totaling $1.5 billion and sales authorizations of F-5Es to five Latin American countries (including Chile) reveal a rising and troubling interest in new markets for US arms.

The major restrictions on arms sales in the Fulbright bill are the aggregate and regional credit ceilings. Credit sales cannot exceed $700 million, $60 million less than the administration wants. Some $300 million of credit is reserved for Israel, and limits of $150 million and $40 million are set for Latin America and Africa, respectively. (The levels for Latin America and Africa are the highest permissible under present law.)

However, credit sales account for only a small part of our foreign military transactions. Only 15 percent—or $550 million—of $3.45 billion worth of arms was bought on credit in 1972; the remainder was for cash. In its present form, the Fulbright bill would have only the most oblique influence on cash sales. Its stated intention of encouraging the shift of sales from government to commercial channels might, if implemented, force buyer countries to calculate costs more carefully and reduce their "wish lists." But barring this possible "accidental" reduction in sales, commercial arms deals could easily be substituted for government sales, leaving the volume of transactions unchanged.

As the hand-shaking with Russia and China have made it harder to justify arms sales abroad by easy reference to containing communism, other reasons are put forward. Defending expanded sales to South America, Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush has testified, "As a region, Latin American nations still spend less than two percent of gross national product on their defense budgets. Since we cannot control even this limited spending, we believe it is to our mutual advantage for Latin American countries to meet their equipment needs through US sources." Other members of the administration have argued that promoting military sales abroad opens opportunities for the transmission of American values and standards, along with spare parts. The administration does not appear to be even mildly embarrassed by the fact that nearly 30 countries have turned to dictatorship or military rule while benefiting from US military assistance.

Though the Fulbright bill requires more detailed reporting of government arms sales, it has no mechanism for effective congressional oversight. Sen. Gaylord Nelson has introduced an amendment which permits Congress to veto sizeable cash or credit arms deals. Only sales in excess of $100 million would require prior approval. The amendment will take a lot of flak from defense lobbyists and military spending enthusiasts in Congress, but even its passage will not guarantee significant slashes in proposed military sales. Reconsideration of sales policy will still depend upon congress' somewhat fitful concern over individual arms transactions.

# Spending Compromise

As recently as his speech announcing the new price freeze on June 13, President Nixon was warning Congress about "budget busters" and "irresponsible" federal appropriations. And it was just last March that HEW Secretary Weinberger gave notice that it was time to "bite the bullet" on federal health programs which the administration had decided were "inefficient" or out of line with the Nixon health strategy. But last week at the height of interest in the Brezhnev visit, the President signed one major and two less important bills which he had earlier promised to veto because they didn't fit his budget. These included $1.2 billion worth of federal health programs up for renewal, $430 million for jobs in depressed areas under the Economic Development Administration (EDA) and $310 million for airport improvement.

It's not certain that Watergate had much to do with the President's cautious approach this time, because these bills were dear to the hearts of many congressmen. The health bill, for example, passed the House by 372-1, and then the Senate by 94-0. These are formidable majorities even for apple pie proposals like improving the nation's health. But Watergate probably did have something to do with the way Nixon addressed Congress in the speech that went with his approval. The last time he was defeated on a major spending bill was in October 1972, when Congress overrode his veto of a water pollution bill. On the eve of that action he railed against its "staggering, budget-wrecking" implications (in a prepared statement handed out by John Ehrlichman), saying that even if it were "rammed into law against the better judgment of the executive" he would impound, to lessen its

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impact. Last week the President referred to the legislation he didn't want to sign as a "reasonable compromise." He said, "So long as the Congress follows a responsible course in the passage of future spending bills, I will cooperate in the spirit of partnership."

There were compromises, but the administration seems to have conceded more than it won. The health bill, a revival of 12 programs that were to end this year, contains money for five that Nixon had hoped to eliminate by July: Hill-Burton hospital construction, regional medical projects, community mental health centers (a new plan) and two health training programs. Nixon considered it a compromise because the bill extends the programs for only one year instead of the customary three. The airport bill was also a compromise because Congress voted $310 million instead of the $420 million threatened by the Senate. The appropriation for EDA, which Nixon also wanted to end, was called a "transition" compromise. The President says he will spend less than half the sum authorized and let the program coast to a gentle stop.

## Instant Analysis

To CBS's dismay, its recent decision to replace "instant analysis" of presidential broadcasts with a more leisurely system has been assailed as a retreat. The new policy postpones newscasters' evaluations from immediately after a Nixon speech until the next day, and allots a roughly equal portion of prime time to broadcasts of opposition views later in the same week. CBS considered this a move toward greater fairness and balance in its coverage of the President's statements.

The network's executives might have expected these changes to arouse suspicion. The Nixon administration, offended by the "liberal slant" of the three networks (especially CBS), detests "instant analysis." (Vice President Agnew coined the phrase in November 1969.) The Nixonians were concerned that such analysis undercuts the President's message.

Because the Johnson administration protested in much the same way when CBS first used instant analysis, the network had attributed criticism of the practice to partisanship. From the outset CBS denied that the purpose of providing immediate commentary was to ruin the President's credibility. However imperfectly, the technique aimed at checking the danger of presidential domination of the airwaves, to the exclusion of other viewpoints.

In this context the current CBS desire to devote approximately equal time to rebuttals of the President is commendable. The courts would have settled for less. On controversial issues, broadcasters are required to present contrasting views, although there is no standard assuring comparable time slots, formats and the like.

Differences in viewing conditions, however, are centrally related to the issue of balanced coverage. With instant analysis, the President's speech and opposing views are aired under very similar circumstances, and that is a major advantage. The new CBS system will introduce substantial disparities in viewing conditions, to the detriment of both the opposition arguments and the network's profits.

CBS is certain to lose money on the rebuttal program; even when all three networks carry the President's message the audience is only two-thirds its normal size. Fewer people still watch network newscasts (which will be carrying the postponed analysis). The extra rebuttal program, forced to compete with prime-time entertainment on the other networks, is expected to produce the smallest audience of all.

To CBS the journalistic merits of the new policy compensate for its economic consequences. The rebuttal program represents an effort to satisfy the demand —from congressional leaders, among others—for greater access to the people via television. Delaying the analyses of its own newsmen until the day after a presidential address is intended to overcome preparation difficulties imposed by having to respond immediately after the President has finished speaking. CBS executives cite complaints from some of the news staff—notably Eric Sevareid—that the commentary suffers from lack of research and reflection.

There's reason to have reservations about the new CBS policy. It is easy to exaggerate the burdens of instant analysis. In spite of the time pressures, the commentary of CBS reporters has been of a generally high level. Dan Rather, CBS White House correspondent, is no newcomer to presidential politics. His comments on President Nixon's Watergate address of April 30 were right on target. Rather observed that the speech made frequent references to "the integrity of the office of President" and "the [alleged] moral bankruptcy of the political system" while the real issues involved were "the personal integrity of Richard Nixon" and "the [alleged] moral bankruptcy of the Nixon campaign." Would Rather have needed 12 hours to come to that conclusion?

NBC and ABC will continue their current practice regarding presidential broadcasts. Their commentaries —though instant—are usually more recapitulative than interpretive. After President Nixon's speech on the economy last week, they offered only skeletal summaries of his proposals.

In formulating its new policy, CBS dismissed the alternative of following both presidential and rebuttal broadcasts with instant analysis. Except for the time constraints, this compromise would preserve the most desirable features of both approaches: improved access, greater attention to public issues and comparability of viewing conditions. Because it lacks this comparability

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factor, the new procedure does rebuttals a disservice. Though White House efforts to intimidate the press have subsided in the wake of recent Watergate disclosures, the effective presentation of views opposed to the administration remains as essential as ever. The three or four minutes following a speech by the President assure widespread exposure for contrasting views, before most of the audience is lost.

## Fizzzz

Miles Laboratories is generally considered to be ahead in the great stomach acid sweepstakes. The "try it, you'll like it" TV pitch must be working because Miles reports more than 70 billion Alka-Seltzer tablets have been sold across the drug counters of the world. What distinguishes Alka-Seltzer from other preparations is its combination of an analgesic, aspirin and an antacid, sodium bicarbonate. In its advertising Miles has always stressed the antacid element. Aspirin, however, has long been known to aggravate gastrointestinal problems, and in recent testimony before the monopoly subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee, some of these dangers were discussed.

"Abundant evidence exists implicating aspirin as a cause of damage to the gastric mucosa (stomach lining)," said Dr. Stuart Danovitch, the chief of gastroenterology at the Washington Hospital Center. Aspirin, he noted, "probably accounts for hemorrhage in a substantial number of patients entering a hospital with upper gastrointestinal hemorrhage." Miles Laboratories replied that Alka-Seltzer is not implicated "as a cause of gastric bleeding in individuals with peptic ulcer," but Dr. Sidney J. Winawer of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center of New York disagreed: "I see no evidence to show that Alka-Seltzer is harmless in a patient who has an active gastric ulcer or active duodenal ulcer, active esophagitis, and particularly in patients who are already bleeding from these lesions." "Under no circumstances," he said, "should medicines containing salicylates [*e.g.*, aspirin] be encouraged for treatment of upper gastrointestinal symptoms." In other words, if you suffer from "heartburn, upset stomach or acid indigestion," Alka-Seltzer is not for you.

There is relatively little regulation of the more than 100,000 over-the-counter drugs. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D, Wisc.) has been conducting hearings on these drugs, and the most recent of these concerned the lucrative antacids. In his opening remarks, Senator Nelson cited a proposed Food and Drug Administration monograph on antacids that concluded "that the fixed antacid-aspirin combination Alka-Seltzer is irrational for antacid use alone and therefore should not be labeled or marketed for such use." The testimony on antacids taken by the Nelson subcommittee will be considered by the agency in deciding what action it will take. With Alka-Seltzer's sales amounting to some $65 million a year, Miles Laboratories obviously has a great stake in keeping its products on the market as currently advertised.

There could be hard times ahead for Alka-Seltzer and other drugs that do not do what their manufacturers claim they do. On June 18, by a unanimous 7-0 vote, the Supreme Court upheld the Food and Drug Administration's power to take such medicines off the market. "Only paralysis could result if case-by-case data in the courts were the only way to protect the public against unsafe or ineffective drugs," wrote Justice William O. Douglas for the court. The FDA thus can refuse a drug manufacturer a hearing "in the absence of any showing of effectiveness" for a drug. Whether the FDA will now *use* that power to rid the market of popular, if ineffective and potentially dangerous, concoctions remains to be seen.

## Secured from Reality

# Our Men in Cambodia

*Phnompenh*

The United States embassy in Cambodia, never a very serene establishment, has become riven with dissension, largely as a result of the military's having gained dominance over the civilians. The opposing sides cannot necessarily be determined by who wears mufti and who wears a uniform, for the two top civilians in the embassy—Ambassador Emory C. Swank and Deputy Chief of Mission Thomas O. Enders—have reportedly endorsed the military position that more arms aid and more bombing are the best available methods for ending the war in Cambodia. Conversely a number of junior military officers are distressed at what they consider the embassy's unwillingness to report the ineptitude and corruption of the Lon Nol government and its armed forces. Pessimistic reports by these military officers and, more often, by middle-level civilian officials are sometimes censored before being sent to Washington, and on occasion quashed completely.

Ambassador Enders, a bright, fast-rising diplomat at the age of 41, was recently promoted to FSO-1, the same rank held by Ambassador Swank, who is 51 and who, with considerably more overseas experience, has a reputation as a mature diplomat. Enders is chairman and deciding voice of the five-man embassy panel that holds a daily secret meeting to screen all requests from the Cambodian high command for air strikes by giant B-52 bombers and F-111 swing-wing jets based in

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Thailand. (Embassy approval of air strikes is passed on to Seventh Air Force headquarters in Thailand for the final approval and action.) Ambassador Swank, though he is said to be kept informed, does not sit on the embassy panel.

A third key personality at the embassy, a member of the bombing panel, is Brigadier General John R. D. Cleland, a soldier with paratrooper background. As head of the US military aid program in Cambodia, he commands the largest bloc at the 200-man embassy—the approximately 75 military personnel on his Military Equipment Delivery Team. Since General Cleland outranks the Defense attaché, who is a colonel, he has taken over, by self-nomination or otherwise, as the senior military adviser to the ambassador. "He's a hawk," says another military officer in Phnompenh who knows him well. "A bomb-Hanoi type. He has no political acumen at all."

The political section of the embassy—known for its balanced reporting and refusal to wax optimistic when the facts did not support it—is being dissolved and will be swallowed by the political-military section. The chief of the political section, William N. Harben, was sent back to Washington a couple of months early, before his normal tour was up. Middle-level officials at the embassy have been reduced to collecting notes and data on events in Cambodia and passing on this raw material, without any evaluation of its significance, to the upper reaches of the embassy, where all analysis for Washington is now done.

Ambassador Enders—who has had no military experience, having specialized in economics—takes professional pride in his new role as chief of the embassy's air-war activities. He has told visitors that "the bombing has been very successful. We've inflicted heavy casualties on the other side." (The embassy has refused to release any bomb-casualty figures, and other military sources in Phnompenh call most of the embassy's assessments "absolutely worthless" because they are rarely based on eyewitness reports of dead enemy bodies.)

General Cleland has become virtually inaccessible to the press, granting interviews only to "trustworthy" newsmen. Other officials, such as the Defense attaché, Colonel Ray L. Burnell Jr., can be seen only with the ambassador's approval. In any event, most interviews at the embassy are attended by a monitor—a member of the embassy's information office—which tends to inhibit the frankness of the official being interviewed. Even diplomats from other Western embassies complain that their sources at the American mission are drying up. "They've become twitchy, almost paranoid," one said. The twitchiness has sometimes assumed ridiculous proportions. Late last year newsmen were barred from the movies shown nightly at the embassy. A few days later, when a low-echelon embassy official, as a friendly gesture, took some newsmen to watch the same movies at the residence of the embassy's marine guards, the marine residence was quickly put off limits to the press. After two weeks the embassy stopped giving informal morning briefings to the press, because the Cambodian military complained that the Americans were giving out more information than the Lon Nol government wanted.

After a story appeared in *The New York Times*—based in part on monitored radio conversations of the air war that established the embassy's key role, as well as bombing confusion and the lack of effective safeguards against civilian destruction—the radio frequencies were hastily changed from those that could be overheard on a regular commercial VHF radio set to secret "secure" UHF bands.

The embassy's top officials not only insulate themselves from the press but from the Cambodian reality around them. Mr. Swank and Mr. Enders are driven everywhere in late-model American cars whose metal has been reinforced and whose windows contain one-and-a-half-inch-thick bullet-proof glass. Guards with Israeli-made submachineguns accompany them at all times. Mr. Swank's car is also escorted by a jeep-load of Cambodian troops and a couple of motorcycle outriders. "He's much more under house arrest than most political prisoners," one US official commented.

**Sidney H. Schanberg**

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## Some COPE, Some Don't

# Labor and Democrats

The first thing to do at a Democratic gathering these days is to check out the back-biting among labor. Upon arrival at the organizing meeting of the Delegate Selection Commission of the Democratic National Committee late in April, I was told that Al Barkan's boys from the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) had vetoed Joe Beirne of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), their erstwhile ally, for a spot on the proposed executive committee of the commission. Eventually the whole idea of an executive committee was dropped. Barkan wanted it; Beirne didn't. The issue was relatively unimportant. The controversy it symbolized was not.

A year ago Joe Beirne would not have been considered a likely candidate for chief critic of COPE. As are many within the inner circle of international union presidents who dominate the AFL-CIO, Beirne is Irish, Catholic and a vigorous proponent of a "win" policy in Indochina. Also like his old associates, Beirne opposed George McGovern before the Miami Beach convention in '72. But he quit the inner circle when he

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came out for the Democratic presidential candidate at a CWA meeting the Saturday after the nomination. Eventually Beirne played a key role in setting up the National Labor Committee to Elect McGovern-Shriver.

The crux of Beirne's criticism of COPE is "ineptness." "They were asleep for four long years when we needed them most," Beirne says of the 1968-72 period: "The McGovern and Fraser Commissions [on convention procedures and delegate selection] had labor members on them but they boycotted the meetings. They did nothing to try to frame the guidelines. When they were adopted, they wrung their hands, said the kooks and crazies had taken over. That's not true. Very sober men studied the problem but the AFL-CIO said the results were awful." Beirne says he's trying to call attention "to the price you have to pay for that kind of ineptness."

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), expresses something of the same attitude: "COPE is an arm of the AFL-CIO, so we're part of it. But the decisions being made were not communicated to us. COPE took a position in the '72 primaries without consultation. Sometimes state federations took a stand, often at direction of COPE. I was appalled at their official preconvention stance of neutrality. Then I learned they were messing around with [Senator] Jackson but there had been no consultation with us. It was the same at Miami. Meany was there. So were a lot of other international presidents. But unilateral positions were taken without consultation. I expressed my anger on the convention floor." Wurf concluded there was no reason why his union "should participate in a mechanism that uses our resources but into which we have no input. We have more input by not paying our dues to COPE than we had when we were paying."

It was this position of "neutrality" by the AFL-CIO last fall that sparked an informal working relationship between a half dozen or more AFL-CIO unions and the powerful, politically sophisticated United Auto Workers (UAW). By choosing not to choose between Nixon and McGovern, the AFL-CIO forced pro-McGovern unions to organize outside COPE. "We had to go in and help fill a vacuum," Beirne says. "Our people had to take top leadership roles everywhere. They did a tremendous job. It was so much of a plus for CWA we're restructuring our whole political operation." The Communication Workers are now planning to have 10 regional political directors, plus committees in each of the states, reaching into every city and hamlet where CWA has members.

Doing that "tremendous" job free of the sometimes heavy hand of Barkan's COPE operatives, a whole generation of local union leaders is discovering a new independence, and liking it. That, in the long run, is the big threat to COPE. The UAW's Leonard Woodcock would like to find a way to bring the UAW back into the AFL-CIO fold. On the other hand, state and local UAW officials now have their own Community Action Program (CAP), which is funded out of UAW dues money that formerly went to the AFL-CIO and COPE. They're enjoying the freedom they have to develop their local programs, independent of COPE. Like Wurf's union and some others, the Communication Workers have cut off both dues and voluntary contributions to COPE. "We'll be making our own judgments on which candidates to support financially," Beirne says. "We'll be giving it to them. It won't be Barkan saying 'I'm a kingmaker.' "

Early this year, the UAW and the Machinists, with 2.5 million members between them, launched a joint legislative and political program with a large conference in Washington, DC. Talk of merger of the two unions was rampant among local officials. The CWA and the Retail Clerks have likewise had a friendly relationship, now being extended to the political field, in consultation with leaders of the Graphic Arts Union (130,000 members). CWA, Retail Clerks and AFSCME have about 1.8 million members among them. Add Graphic Arts and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), plus sympathy from the International Union of Electricians (IUE) and you have internationals with about five million out of 20 million union members, which are defining for themselves an independent political course. Most of them are old CIO unions with a strong political tradition.

The latest addition to this loose consortium is the United Mine Workers led by Arnold Miller, the insurgent winner in last December's special UMW election. His reception by other labor leaders is indicative of the political split in labor. Woodcock was the first union president to call upon Miller after Miller's victory. Since then, the UAW has given Miller every kind of moral support, from buying a table at the ADA dinner which honored Miller (so did CWA, OCAW, Machinists, etc.) to inviting him to this year's legislative conference in Washington, DC. On the day Miller was to speak at a National Press Club luncheon, Bill Dodds of the UAW discovered labor was to be virtually unrepresented and put out an urgent call. CWA loaded some of its staff in taxis to send them out to the luncheon and a group from Graphic Arts turned out. The old-line AFL-CIO people were conspicuous by their absence.

Thus far both sides are keeping their cool when it comes to the 1974 congressional races. The "Early Help" session was scheduled with Sen. Alan Cranston (D) of California. Barkan had made uncomplimentary remarks about Dodds; nevertheless Dodds was invited to join his AFL-CIO brothers at the Cranston dinner. Barkan that night reserved his caustic comments for the National Committee for an Effective Congress and the Council for a Livable World, both of which provide solid financial support for friends of labor but do not

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share Barkan's generally "hawkish" sentiments.

Democratic National Chairman Strauss will start feeling the pressure once the party commissions begin to make their reports and the two wings of labor take opposing views on key recommendations. For instance the Delegate Selection Commission includes, among a dozen or so labor people, Bill DuChessi of Textile Workers (a close friend of Barkan) and Mike Johnson of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO on one side, and Beirne and Ed Donahue of Graphic Arts on the other. All of Strauss' considerable finesse will be needed to keep the labor allies he needs pulling in the same direction.

**Paul R. Wieck**

## The Nixon Watch

# Respite with Brezhnev

During the week that Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev spent together in Washington and California, the visitor from Moscow had the air of a man who was doing his host a favor and the President behaved as if he agreed and was grateful for the rendered kindness. Mr. Nixon should have been grateful. This second of his meetings with Brezhnev, a consequence of and successor to the President's historic stay at the Kremlin in May of 1972, gave him and the nation a welcome though incomplete respite from the horror and threat of Watergate. Hearing the President say to the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party on the South Lawn of the White House, on the cool and cloudy morning of June 18, that "all the world is watching us," and that "the hopes of the world rest with us," and hearing Brezhnev's translator say that he was saying that he and his companions were in America to "serve the interests of a peaceful future for all mankind," it was possible to believe and hope that Richard Nixon would surmount and survive the approaching climax of the Watergate scandals and, secured and rehabilitated in his second term, be enabled to pursue the accommodations that he had initiated with the Soviet Union and Communist China.

This was the belief and hope that Mr. Nixon relied upon, more than he could possibly rely upon the effect of his responses to the Watergate disclosures already made and yet to be made, to see him through his trouble. His attempt on May 22 to cloak the illegal spying and surveillance that marked the whole pattern of Watergate mentality and behavior in the claim that he had authorized much of it for reasons of national security was in ruins. That defense had been demolished by the publication of official documents which showed beyond doubt that both the purposes and the uses of these measures were primarily political. The web of reports and testimony tying many of his closest first-term associates to the Watergate wrongs and belying any confidence that he could have been as remote from them and from the effort to conceal them as he had said he was tightened around him. Thus it was that everything the President said and did during the week of his second Soviet summit had to be and was read in part as a defense against the Watergate pressures that bore upon him. When he said at his state dinner for Brezhnev that "The question is: shall the world's two strongest nations constantly confront each other in areas which might lead to war, or shall we work together for peace?" he was also saying to his countrymen that the question is whether the sordid Watergate affair should be allowed to bring down and drive from office a President who indeed was "working for peace" and, with his guest, aiming at a success that might "come to be measured not only in years but in decades and generations, and probably centuries."

Brezhnev proved to be an attractive and, one must assume, knowing and effective collaborator. He projected a sturdy charm in person and on television. His obvious pleasure in his first visit to the United States and in his observed encounters with the President, with senators and congressmen and with his and Mr. Nixon's guests at luncheons and state dinners imparted a certain pleasure to all who saw and met him. Just as the President had accorded first place to the general secretary and his fellows when they were in company with each other in Moscow last year, the host noticeably deferred to the guest in Washington. Even the legislators and others who formidably opposed the US trade concessions that Brezhnev sought, until and unless his government went further than it already had in removing its restrictions upon the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, were impressed by his arguments and evidence that the Moscow government had done more than any US administration probably would in response to another country's demands for changes in what the pressured government regarded as a matter of internal policy. Brezhnev's readiness to make the argument and present the evidence was in itself a concession from a proud and sensitive leadership that would have been unimaginable a year ago. It was a sign that General Secretary Brezhnev was also on the defensive, as anxious for his purposes as Mr. Nixon was for his purposes to justify a meeting and an approach to full accommodation that were as repellent to powerful Soviet factions as they were to vocal segments of American opinion.

The visitor and his ambassador in Washington, Anatoliy Dobrynin, must have calculated that the timing of the meeting was fortunate for them, in the sense that Mr. Nixon so clearly needed a successful outcome. But this situation and awareness played no overt part in the Nixon-Brezhnev conversations and in discussions at lower official levels. Brezhnev had

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said in Moscow that it would be "indecent" of him to mention Watergate or even have it in mind when he conferred with the President. Henry Kissinger and Dobrynin in Washington, and Kissinger in preparatory visits to Moscow, had worked out the script for this return summit as carefully as the scenario for Mr. Nixon's Moscow summit last year had been prepared. The dates for the Washington summit, allowing for a few days' variation either way, were set in Moscow last September. Agreements for US-Soviet cooperation in oceanography, transportation, agriculture, taxation of each country's nationals and cultural exchanges extended previous formal and informal understandings and were negotiated well in advance of the ceremonial signings in Washington, with televised fanfare and gaiety. More substantive agreements on the exchange of nuclear technology for peaceful uses, and on guidelines to govern the second phase of the US-Soviet strategic arms limitations talks, aimed at mutual and permanent restriction of each country's offensive nuclear weapons, had also been pretty well though not completely arranged beforehand. Brezhnev and his spokesman, Leonid Zamyatin, showed themselves to be acutely conscious of suspicions in the US that the huge grain sales to the Soviet Union that were negotiated last year were distinctly to Soviet advantage at American expense and that the preliminary agreement in Moscow to limit offensive nuclear armaments left the Soviets with an edge that could be dangerous if it were not curtailed and compensated for in the second round of SALT. This was why Brezhnev and Zamyatin talked about "mutually advantageous cooperation" and deplored published American notions that Mr. Nixon, in his zeal to win a peacemaker's place in history, had not only imperiled US welfare and security but had conceded more than an American president decently could to a repressive and inherently hostile Communist regime. It was sentiment of this sort that Brezhnev addressed himself to when he said at the President's dinner for him that "the reshaping of Soviet-American relations" requires much effort "to overcome the inertia of the 'cold war' and its after effects in international affairs, and in the minds of men."

A side-effect of the Washington summit, even while it gave Mr. Nixon passing respite from Watergate, was to highlight the tensions and pressures at the Nixon White House. Right up to and through the first 48 hours of the general secretary's presence in the US, the Ervin investigating committee's plan to hear John Wesley Dean III, the President's fired and vengeful counsel, in televised testimony while Brezhnev was in conference with Mr. Nixon at the White House precipitated bitter reaction from some of the President's closest surviving associates. I heard it said that calling Dean in the summit week would be "close to treason" and would constitute proof that Senator Sam Ervin, the committee chairman, was out to "break the President and break the presidency" at any cost. At the last-minute instance of Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott, the Democratic and Republican floor leaders, Ervin and the committee put off Dean's appearance and the damaging disclosures that he promised for a week. Mansfield and Scott said that they acted on their own, without prodding from the President or the White House staff. But they must have known of the fears and feelings at the White House and have known, too, that some of the President's men were set to attempt to discredit the entire Watergate investigation with charges that its conductors were willing and ready to endanger the summit and all that it might contribute to world peace and security. As it turned out, with the postponement granted and with Brezhnev off to Paris and the President holed up at his California home, one could be sure that peace and Mr. Nixon's striving for it would figure largely in his forthcoming responses to Dean's testimony and to the intensified pressures upon him that it is likely to generate.

One of the heralds of the defensive peace theme was Mr. Nixon's temporary and very special adviser, John B. Connally. At his first appearance in the White House press room since his undertaking to assist the President for awhile was announced on May 10, Connally was asked what he thought of the summit meeting and replied: "It's going to lay the foundations for peaceful movements that will be of enormous benefit to the world." The implication, which didn't need to be stated, was that any attack upon or criticism of Mr. Nixon that impeded these peaceful movements would be a disservice to the nation and the world. Big John's purpose in appearing, however, had a closer connection with his own and the President's domestic future and well-being than with international summitry. His public shift in April from the Democratic to the Republican Party and his immediate association with Mr. Nixon in his time of trouble had seemed to be souring on both of them. There had been reports, believed with reason by Washington journalists to emanate from Connally himself, that his advice to the President on how to combat the rampant inflation and to reconstruct the recently shattered White House staff had not been received by Mr. Nixon with the reverence and respect to which Connally had become accustomed when he was Treasury secretary in 1971-72. He was said to be on the verge of going home to Texas and off on a world trip that he'd been planning in early May. Such stories were not likely to enhance his value to his law clients, whom he had temporarily abandoned when the matter of conflicts of interest was raised, and who naturally regarded his standing with the President as an asset to them. Neither were the stories likely to improve his prospects of being the next Republican presidential nominee, an ambition that he disowns with moving insincerity. The day when Messrs. Nixon and Brezhnev retired to Camp

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David for their conclusive summit round seemed to Connally to be a good time to rebut the stories and he did so with his usual gusto. He rebutted them, that is, in a fashion that confirmed an impression that they had been true but were no longer true. With his immensely engaging smirk, he said to the assembled reporters that "y'all have some leakers that are fairly accurate." What it came to, the reporters gathered, was that he'd been in a huff and had decided to leave and had been persuaded to stick around, off and on, until mid-summer. It didn't matter much, really, except that between June and mid-summer the President will need all the help he can get and had evidently asked John Connally to stay with him a little longer.

**John Osborne**

## Someone is Still Lying

# The Latest Cover-up

## by Walter Pincus

The cover-up of the Watergate affair may turn out to be more damaging to the Nixon presidency than the original crime. As pieced together from Senate testimony, court depositions and news stories, we are now witnessing cover-up, phase three. Events involved in the latest cover-up directly involve the President.

The first cover-up began immediately after top officials in the Nixon reelection committee and the White House were informed of the arrest of five men—including the Nixon campaign security chief—inside the Democratic Party headquarters. As Nixon's former deputy campaign manager Jeb Stuart Magruder put it during his testimony before the Ervin Select Senate Committee: "There never was any discussion that there wouldn't be a cover-up." The reason was simple, Magruder said: disclosure that former Attorney General John Mitchell was involved might bring about the loss of the presidential election.

There were two objectives of the cover-up activity—first to mislead the public through deception of the news media; second to limit the investigation and any prosecution that might follow. The public was easily deceived. Mitchell disparaged James McCord, the campaign aide who had been arrested, and suggested he was acting for some other client. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said the White House would not comment on a "third-rate burglary attempt."

The aim of the initial private cover-up was best described by White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman in a conversation reportedly held just six days after the break-in: "The whole affair was getting embarrassing," Haldeman is quoted as saying. "Since the five suspects had been arrested, this should be sufficient. It was not advantageous to have the inquiry [by the FBI] pushed. . . ."

Within several days, however, it became apparent the FBI would go beyond the five men arrested. Two former White House aides, E. Howard Hunt, Jr., and G. Gordon Liddy, who had immediate responsibility for the Watergate and other bugging and espionage operations would have to be implicated. Thus a second cover-up had to be designed.

Sometime after June 28, when the contents of Hunt's safe were turned over to the FBI by the White House, and Liddy had been fired by the reelection committee, the second story was fabricated. Magruder was at the time, according to his own testimony, a target of the investigation. He was fully prepared to take the blame after receiving assurances from former Attorney General Mitchell and White House Counsel John Wesley Dean III that his salary would continue to take care of his family, that a job would await his release from prison and that he might receive executive clemency. This was apparently the same deal offered to Hunt, Liddy and five men arrested inside the Watergate. The glue holding the cover-up together at that time was the common desire of everyone involved not to jeopardize the reelection of Richard Nixon.

In July it was apparently decided that no one would believe that Magruder had run such an operation on his own. His boss, Mitchell, would quickly come under suspicion. Therefore phony stories were constructed to suggest that Liddy operated the illegal activities independently. Magruder and one of his assistants, Herbert Porter, told fictitious stories to the FBI, the US attorneys, the grand jury and at the Watergate jury trial. The thrust of their statements was that Liddy had "legal" intelligence gathering duties but

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that he had exceeded them at his own initiative when he started illegal bugging.

Except for complaints by Judge John Sirica, it appeared that the President, his top White House and campaign aides were home free by inauguration day. However the second cover-up was beginning to show signs of crumbling. McCord, approached privately by an emissary from White House Counsel Dean, turned down offers of funds, a future job and possible clemency in return for continued silence. He said he would not go to jail without speaking. He believed to do so would raise the possibility of being murdered in prison. McCord, then, was threatening to expose the second cover-up.

On February 17 the President nominated acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III to be permanent director of the bureau. That step, necessitating a confirmation hearing on Gray and the Watergate inquiry it precipitated, may be remembered as one of Nixon's biggest mistakes.

On February 27 the President had the first of some 37 meetings and conversations with Dean. According to Ehrlichman the President at this time wanted to get something done about Watergate before the Ervin hearings began. Haldeman said the sessions had to do with the executive privilege questions and with prospective appearances of the staff before Ervin. What is more likely is that Dean was reporting on the questions raised at the Gray hearing. For example, on February 28, during the first day's hearing, Gray said he had turned over to Dean FBI interview reports from the Watergate investigation. The next day, March 1, the President met three times with Dean. As each day's hearing took place, the focus came to shift more and more from Gray to Dean—and White House logs indicate short conversations with the President almost each hearing day.

On March 12 the President released his sweeping new statement on executive privilege. Though it claimed the privilege would not be used as a shield "to prevent embarrassing information from being made available," it applied the privilege to both present and past White House employees.

The next day, March 13, the Senate Judiciary Committee voted unanimously to call Dean to testify in the Gray hearings. Dean and the President met for more than an hour. According to the White House logs, the President asked Dean about the possible involvement in Watergate of a number of aides. In this version, Dean suggested only that one person, Haldeman's former aide Gordon Strachan, "could be involved." The next day, March 14, Dean turned down the committee invitation to appear, citing the March 12 presidential statement on executive privilege. In the White House version, the President is reported to have suggested that Dean appear before the press.

On March 15 the President himself made an informal appearance in the White House press room and took a hard line on executive privilege while restating both his determination not to allow aides to testify and his "confidence" in all the White House staff members who had been linked to the Watergate. Apparently the possible involvement of Strachan, mentioned to Nixon in several earlier conversations, had either been forgotten or conveniently discounted.

On March 17 the President and Dean met for almost an hour. In the White House version, the President asked "Dean point-blank if he knew about the planned break-in in advance. Dean said no. . . ."

On March 18 Senator Ervin threatened contempt citations for White House aides who refused to testify before his committee and the next day, March 19, Senate Majority Whip Robert Byrd made a Senate floor statement that linked the White House to the Watergate cover-up. Those events set the stage for important developments the next week. On March 20 the White House logs say that Dean suggested he give the President a more in-depth report on Watergate. Haldeman says that on the 20th the President *directed* Dean to meet with him to give "his opinions as to how these facts [on Watergate] fit together and where they might lead and what the situation was. . . ."

At 10:12 am on March 21, Dean met with the President in the Oval Office. The meeting lasted almost until noon. According to Haldeman, who sat in briefly, Dean was unable to determine with any accuracy the involvement of anyone other than those convicted. It was possible, he said in his deposition, that Dean mentioned Liddy's presentation of outlandish proposals in a meeting in Mitchell's office. The White House version of that meeting totally undermines Haldeman's statements. It says "Dean gave the President his theory of what had happened," and then lists Magruder, Mitchell and Strachan as probably or possibly knowing of the break-in beforehand; Haldeman's possibly seeing the "fruits of the wiretaps"; Ehrlichman's being "vulnerable" because of Kalmbach's fund-raising (apparently to raise hush money for the defendants); Hunt's trying to blackmail Ehrlichman over the plumber activities for $1 million; and the $350,000 in campaign fund cash being returned by Haldeman. The White House version of the morning meeting, though sketchy, covers the whole range of Watergate subjects. Later that afternoon, the President met with Dean, Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Ziegler in his Executive Office Building hideaway. At that time, according to the White House, "it was tentatively decided that everyone would go to the Grand Jury . . . Haldeman suggested they write the whole thing out and release it from the White House . . . Ehrlichman said there should be no executive privilege claim and no one should ask for immunity."

The next day, March 22, Mitchell came to Washington and spent the morning with Dean, Haldeman and Ehrlichman. According to Haldeman, they went over

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what Dean had told the President the day before. Dean has told the Ervin committee an effort was made that day to get Mitchell to take the rap for the Watergate affair in order to divert investigation from the White House staff members.

The President met with the four that afternoon in a session that lasted almost one hour and 45 minutes. According to the White House, Mitchell suggested "they go before the Ervin committee, that they not use executive privilege but that first it should all be put down on paper." The White House version of events would indicate that following the March 21 and 22 meetings, the President was informed of involvements before and after the break-in and was moving to make them public.

The next day's announcement by Judge Sirica, that convicted conspirator James McCord wanted to talk and knew perjury had been committed at the trial, that higher-ups had gone free and that defendants pressured to plead guilty, should therefore have been used as the basis for the White House disclosure. It wasn't. The cover-up continued. Dean was sent to Camp David, allegedly to write his report on Watergate. But in Washington, according to Magruder, the McCord letter "accelerated the process of concern by all."

The question at the White House was who was going to take the blame. In the first cover-up it was to have been the five men arrested. In the second it was those five plus Liddy and Hunt. Now, how high was it to go? Dean, according to the White House, even at this point wanted immunity. What about the others?

The White House desire at that time to continue the cover-up was highlighted by a statement released the next day, March 24, by Republican Senator Hugh Scott. Having attended a meeting earlier in the week with the President, Scott declared the President had told him, "Hugh, I have nothing to hide. The White House has nothing to hide. I repeat we have nothing to hide, and you are authorized to make that statement in my name." In truth he had nothing to hide except the involvement—then clearly known to the President—of all his top aides either in the original Watergate affair or the cover-up.

Events in the following week appear to confirm the view that the President was going to try to "tough it out," despite what he knew. McCord met with the Ervin committee staff and word quickly leaked out that he had linked Dean, Magruder and Mitchell to the Watergate planning. On Monday, March 26, with those allegations in the air, Ziegler flatly denied that Dean had prior knowledge of Watergate. Ehrlichman called Attorney General Kleindienst "to alert him to the President's working assumption" that McCord's allegations were untrue even though by then, the President knew they were not. Kleindienst, in turn, according to Ehrlichman, said there was no evidence linking Mitchell and gave the Justice Department's view that McCord's statement lacked "credibility . . . that he was a convicted felon who was obviously bargaining for reduced sentence and that his statements were being taken with depreciation."

Behind that facade, however, some Watergate participants were worried. Magruder went to see the Nixon committee lawyers and the next day, at Mitchell's request, flew to New York to discuss the matter with the former attorney general. At that March 27 meeting, Magruder has testified, Mitchell said he should hold to his earlier story but that if Magruder's perjury became known, the earlier promises of a salary, job after jail and possible clemency would still be honored.

Wednesday, March 28 was another key day for the third cover-up. The morning *New York Times* had Martha Mitchell saying that someone was trying to make her husband the scapegoat. She may have been right. That day Mitchell had a series of conferences with Haldeman, Magruder and Dean. The aim of the meetings was to work out a single story that would hold up under new investigation. That day McCord was appearing in closed session before the Ervin committee and giving his hearsay testimony involving Mitchell, Liddy, Dean and Magruder and tying them to a meeting in January in the attorney general's office where Liddy presented his intelligence plan using charts.

Of that day's sessions, Magruder says everyone was willing to hold with the old story except Dean. Haldeman says that at this point Magruder told him for the first time of his involvement. Mitchell, says Haldeman, remembered only one intelligence planning meeting and argued that Magruder undertook the Watergate project under pressure from the White House. "There was a problem as to what the facts were," Magruder said of that day's session.

On Friday, March 30, a newspaper story indicated Magruder's former administrative assistant, Robert Reisner, was to be called by the Ervin committee. Reisner knew of the intelligence material, knew Mitchell had received it and, most important at that moment, could provide corroboration for McCord's story that a Liddy briefing had taken place in January in Mitchell's Justice Department office. He had never before been interviewed either by the FBI or the prosecutors. Magruder called Reisner early that morning to get him to meet at the Nixon committee lawyers' office. Reisner refused. Magruder then harangued his former aide, telling him he could not confirm McCord's story through some easels ordered for that meeting. Reisner went ahead and testified.

Later that day the White House—which was supposedly seeking ways to make public the knowledge it had—issued a criticism of leaks from the Ervin panel. Press Secretary Ziegler then stated, "no one in

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the White House had any involvement or prior knowledge" of the Watergate break-in. Ziegler, it should be noted, attended the March 21 afternoon session where appearances by everyone before the grand jury were discussed. In other words, the cover-up was continuing, but by the end of March each of the participants including the President seems to have been covering up in his own way and for his own purposes.

## "Looking at Flowers from Horseback"

# China Journal—III

## by Stanley Karnow

The first-class *wagon lits* looks like a leftover from the old Orient Express, but its European-style sleeping compartments are comfortable and the restaurant car serves excellent meals. The real advantage to traveling by train in China, however, is the chance it offers to scan the countryside closely. This trip, moreover, provides my companions and me with an opportunity for long talks with Mao Kuo-hua and Mrs. Chen Teh-jen, our government guides. So the rail journey from Peking through Hopeh and Honan to the Shensi province capital of Sian is a valuable experience.

Departing from Peking in the evening, we awaken early next morning to find ourselves crossing the North China plain. The landscape bears out the official Chinese disclosure that the region is suffering from its most serious drought in decades. The soil is parched and cracked in many places. Irrigation ditches appear to be dry and the Yellow River, which we cross north of the Honan province capital of Chengchow, is extremely low. The sight dramatizes the extent to which China's precarious agricultural economy depends upon climatic conditions. Because of bad weather, I am authoritatively told, the nation's total production of wheat, rice and other cereals was 10 million tons less last year than in 1971, and not much higher than 1970 output. The Chinese partly made up for the drop by importing five million tons of grain last year from Canada and other Western countries. But, since they can buy two tons of wheat for every ton of rice they sell, they exported three million tons of rice to pay for the imports.

Judging from a *Peking Review* article I have brought along, the specter of famine is never far from Chinese minds. The article recalls that in 1920, when a major drought ravaged the area we are now traversing, large numbers of people "died of starvation and corpses littered the roads" while many others "fled the land and went begging." The present drought is worse, the article claims, but the government has avoided disaster by rushing grain supplies to stricken places. A strength of the Communist regime, then, is its organizational ability to equalize the poverty. Still, with the Chinese population growing by roughly 15 million a year, the Malthusian race between food and mouths is critical. Premier Chou En-lai reportedly forecast the other day that China would have to double its current grain production by the end of the century to sustain a population that is then expected to be well over a billion. A big question at the moment is whether future Chinese leaders, who are now being inculcated with the notion of self-reliance, would mortgage China to foreign corporations in order to acquire the technology necessary to overcome their agricultural problems. Peking's present purchases of petrochemical plants from Japan and West Germany, combined with invitations to American oil experts to visit China, suggest steps in that direction.

The Chinese never hesitate to stress that their country is poor and backward, and I now appreciate their candor. Every inch of the land is cultivated, and beautifully terraced hillsides that come into view from time to time are testimony to the intensity of the labor. I see primitive huts that blend into the yellow loess earth, and, as we chug through highlands, I observe cave dwellings carved into cliffs. Electrification is rare compared to the Peking suburbs. Also in contrast to the outskirts of Peking, where trucks and tractors are fairly numerous, this rural region does not seem to be highly mechanized. I notice peasants behind rudimentary plows drawn by oxen, and, along the roads, men and women are harnessed to carts bearing heavy loads. Except at the Chengchow station, where a huge statue of Mao Tse-tung dominates the platform, the cult of the Chairman is hardly visible along our

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route. Nor are there many indications that ideology is in command, as it was during Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The only slogans I observe, painted on rocks or billboards, are relatively apolitical aphorisms like "Serve the People" and "Grasp Revolution and Promote Production."

I ask Mr. Mao and Mrs. Chen to join a couple of us in what we jokingly call a "study session." I confess that I am somewhat confused by agricultural strategy. If Liu Shao-chi, the former chief of state, was purged during the Cultural Revolution for favoring material incentives and other forms of economic liberalism, why does the government still pursue the policies he advocated, such as permitting peasants to cultivate private vegetable gardens, raise their own livestock and sell their produce at free markets? Mr. Mao answers that the markets are not really free, since prices at them are fixed by the government. How does the government determine prices? According to "concrete conditions," Mr. Mao replies. We ask for a specific example. Well, he explains, tomatoes are plentiful in summer and therefore cheaper than they are in winter, when they are scarce. But that sounds like the old-fashioned capitalistic law of supply and demand, I suggest. Mr. Mao parries the point by emphasizing that grain prices, set by the government, never vary. Unlike vegetables and livestock, which are individual responsibilities, wheat, rice and other cereals are "collective" crops. Peasant groups can retain a percentage of grain for their own use and for seed, but surpluses must be sold to the government. The percentages allocated to the government, however, are negotiated rather than arbitrarily imposed by officials committed to fulfilling targets handed down by superiors. Thus the system seems to be fairly supple, and, as such, it is a far cry from earlier periods in which controls were tight.

It appears to me, moreover, that the official attitude toward personal earnings and consumption has significantly relaxed since the Cultural Revolution, when workers and peasants concerned with making money and accumulating goods were charged with "economism." A few years ago, for example, a model hero was a selfless militant devoted to Mao and the permanent revolution. Now an article in the *Peking Review* extolls a peasant by the name of Yeh Kun-fang who has saved enough from his collective labor and private enterprises to buy new furniture, a transistor radio and a clock in addition to setting aside a handsome sum for his daughter's dowry. The article concludes that life for peasants like Yeh will improve "with the growing prosperity of the socialist motherland."

Though the large People's Communes created during the 1958 Great Leap Forward continue to exist, real authority is in the hands of so-called "production teams," each comprising 20 to 30 families, or about the size of hamlets. Mr. Mao, our guide, refers to these teams as "basic accounting units," which means that they can determine their own utilization of manpower, land, draft animals and equipment, and they can also decide on expenditures and income distribution without interference from higher echelons—provided, of course, that they sell negotiated quantities of grain, cotton, fibers and other "collective" crops to the government. With all this, the trend away from Mao Tse-tung's radical approach is becoming so pronounced that the regime is apparently trying to correct the swing, at least in its propaganda. Until recently, for example, the villainous "political swindler" Lin Piao was damned as an "ultraleftist." Now he is denounced as having been a "rightist."

When I was in China last year, officials switched off at any mention of Lin Piao. But Mr. Mao, our guide, accepts the subject as valid for discussion even though, he says, he has little to amplify what we have already read in the newspapers. He also adds that we must have seen the "Taiwan documents," in effect confirming the authenticity of secret Communist Party circulars somehow acquired by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. I happen to be carrying one of these with me. Prepared by a special Communist Party investigation committee, it details an alleged conspiracy by Lin Piao and others against Mao, whom they called by the code-name "B-52," apparently connoting a powerful heavyweight. According to the document, Lin Piao was counting on Soviet support. When his plot failed, the Chinese now say, he tried to flee to Siberia but was killed in a crash in Mongolia. It is interesting to speculate that there might not have been a Nixon trip to China had Lin Piao's plot succeeded—or even had he landed safely in the Soviet Union. Henry Kissinger and his staff were then as concerned by that prospect as the Chinese are now worried by the possibility that the Watergate scandal may bring down Nixon and disrupt their present relationship with the United States.

After being out of bounds for some time, Sian is now open to foreigners and has been seen by about 200 Americans, British, French, Japanese and other visitors thus far this year. So as we reach the enormous People's Hotel, another hideous example of Stalinist architecture, we are greeted by local officials clearly experienced in dealing with foreigners. One, a small man in a neat gray tunic, is introduced as a "responsible member" of the Shensi province Foreign Affairs Department. Another represents the *Shensi Daily*, the provincial newspaper. Invited into a salon of the hotel, we are served tea and asked to comment on our two-day schedule. A request to visit the newspaper office evokes smiles—and silence. We object to the frequent "rest periods" in the program, proposing that we ought to see as much as possible. Finally, after some discussion, the program is slightly enlarged. But Mr. Mao, our guide, politely warns me that we will be rushed. Summoning up an old Chinese proverb, he says: "This is looking at flowers from horseback."

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The Sian area is one of the great historical regions of China. Inhabited as far back as the Paleolithic era, it was the site of capitals from the founding of the Chou dynasty at the end of the second millenium BC to the fall of the Tang in the 10th century AD. Not far from here, in Yenan, the Communists established their base following their famous Long March. Also near here, at the hot spring resort of Hua Ching, Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped in December 1936 and compelled by the Communists to join in a common front against the Japanese. The population of Sian, about 400,000 a generation ago, has since quadrupled. Yet it still seems to be a relatively unhurried place. Sian, incidentally, means "western tranquility."

Riding in chauffeur-driven Shanghais, which resemble Soviet Volgas, we first visit ancient monuments like the massive Bell Tower, originally built during Tang days, and the seven-story Big Goose Pagoda. Crowds of Chinese are visiting the pagoda, and I perceive among them a few old women hobbling along on bound feet. I also notice in an adjoining temple that joss sticks are smoldering in front of Buddha statues, so some form of religious observance is still alive despite official injunctions against superstitious practices. A local guide explains, however, that the monks who formerly ran the pagoda have been "liberated," and are now either municipal employees or farm and industrial workers. "They no longer exploit the people," he asserts.

The Red Guards and other militants unleashed during the Cultural Revolution by Mao were urged to destroy "feudal" vestiges, and they reportedly wrecked many relics. Our guide acknowledges that "bad elements" attempted to deface the Big Goose Pagoda, but, he says, they were dissuaded. I am intrigued, though, that our request to see the eighth century Sian mosque is rejected on the grounds that "another organization" arranges visits to that building. A Chinese-speaking European diplomat who came here last year would later inform me that he slipped away from his guided tour to look at the mosque as well as other old monuments and found them to have been badly damaged by Red Guard ravages. At the Ming dynasty Temple of the Town Gods, for example, the statuary and sculpted wood porticos were gone. He contends that present Chinese efforts to publicize the archeological discoveries made during the Cultural Revolution are designed to camouflage the destructive consequences of that hectic period. Among these efforts is a plan to send an exhibition of Chinese art to the United States. The new approach is set forth in an appropriate Mao quotation displayed in the provincial museum, which was closed during the Cultural Revolution, presumably for its protection. "We must inherit the excellent arts and literature from the ancients and criticize the rubbish," the quotation states.

The extraordinary vitality of the ancient Chinese masters is visible at the museum, which features magnificent Shang and Chou bronzes, Tang figures and the richest collection of steles in China, among them one recording the arrival of a Nestorian priest in Chang An in the eighth century and his establishment of a Christian chapel here. The extent to which the Chinese still seem to be sensitive to past foreign encroachments on China is reflected in a couple of reminders by the museum curator of Western attempts to steal antiques years ago. The curator, a handsome woman, recalls that a Danish collector tried to remove a stele and that an American carted away two stone bas-reliefs that are now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Ten years ago, when Edgar Snow visited Sian, the American theft was described as "another example of cultural imperialism." But the line has evidently softened since. The curator merely voices the hope that the American people will one day return the stolen bas-reliefs.

We follow the museum tour by a chat with Tsai Chung-yuan, a craftsman in his late 30s who repairs broken Tang originals and makes reproductions to replace pieces sent off on exhibitions. He employs the same glazing and firing process used by artisans here 1000 years ago. Each reproduction is therefore a new original, and he often rejects several copies until he can create a perfect one. He explains, for example, that he took a full month to reproduce a remarkable Tang horse, the original of which is currently in Paris and will soon be shown in New York. Mr. Tsai is plainly an artist. He affirms, however, that he pursues his calling because "it is needed for the construction of socialism."

Consistent with our cultural day, we attend the theater for an evening recital of songs and dances. The audience applauds us as we enter the theater, and, conforming to the ritual, we applaud them back. The performers are dazzlingly proficient, but their numbers are predictably political. A troupe of exquisite ballerinas portray grain harvesting and picking grapes in Sinkiang province, and a baritone wearing a Sun Yat-sen tunic delivers a rendition of "I Love the Motherland." When a group of young men dressed as soldiers appear against a backdrop of snowy mountains to dance a ballet entitled "Border Guard," I ask one of our guides to identify the border. "You know what border that is," he replies.

Next morning we drive 30 miles outside Sian to a woolen mill. The visit begins in ritual fashion with a briefing by the mill officials, among them a trade union representative and the head of the plant's Revolutionary Committee, a theoretically temporary administrative body formed in late 1967 as a substitute for the Communist Party apparatus shattered during the Cultural Revolution. The officials, who are former workers rather than political cadres, tell us that over half of the mill's more than 2000 employees are women, that the plant contains 6000 spindles and that it last

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year produced nearly 1.5 million meters of woolen fabrics and 90,000 blankets, 30 percent of which were exported to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba and elsewhere. They emphasize that the plant, the largest in Shensi province, no longer imports raw materials, but, in keeping with the spirit of self-reliance, now gets all its wool from Chinese sheep. According to Kung Ta-an, the head of the Revolutionary Committee, workers receive no bonuses. But a pay scale does exist, with some skilled workers earning more than 100 yuan per month, a high wage considering that food and lodging is cheap, medical care free and taxes nonexistent. Moreover, Mr. Kung discloses, lower-level workers were given a 10 percent raise in 1971. Higher salaries and better labor conditions are not normally negotiated by the trade union, whose main function is to lead workers in the study of Marx, Lenin and Mao. An unhappy worker can, though, consult with union officials.

In some places, I gather, factories can retain a percentage of their profits. But here, Mr. Kung explains, all profits are turned over to a provincial bureau to which the mill can apply for funds for investment projects or other purposes. It seems to me that the system has been decentralized and relaxed compared to the 1950s, when Peking exercised strict controls over industry. Now, Mr. Kung says, the plant only deals with Peking for its foreign exports or when it requires equipment that must be imported from abroad. As we stroll through the mill observing girls in white smocks running looms and spindles, Mr. Kung proudly points out that all the machinery is Chinese. I cannot judge its efficiency, but Mr. Kung offers a candid comment: "We are modern in Chinese terms but backwards in many respects by world standards. There is still much room for better quality and quantity. We are still wasteful. Management should be improved."

Chiaotung Polytechnic University, the principal institution of higher learning in Sian, was convulsed during the Cultural Revolution as Red Guards challenged its Communist Party organization. The party reacted by cracking down severely on the young radicals, and, according to an English teacher here at the time, several students committed suicide after being publicly humiliated. A semblance of order was restored in mid-1968, when special squads of workers, peasants and soldiers were sent into the university. But classes, halted in 1966, did not resume until early 1969, and I suspect that tensions still persist. I notice as we drive into the campus that buildings are covered with wall posters in which, we are told, students and professors express their complaints. We are forbidden to examine the posters, however, since they deal with "internal affairs." Instead we are led into a large chamber, served tea and briefed by youths and faculty members. The briefing is directed by the head of the university's Revolutionary Committee, Shen Wen-chun, who was educated in the Soviet Union. Among those present is an elderly professor by the name of Chow Hui, who attended the University of Michigan and the University of Illinois in the 1930s. They describe the structure of the university, whose student body is down from 7500 before the Cultural Revolution to 1400 at present—another sign that the field of education is still unsettled.

Mr. Shen, Professor Chow and the others show us a laboratory furnace making single-crystal silicones used for semi-conductors, stressing that it was built during the Cultural Revolution. As in the realm of archeology, this pitch is clearly designed to persuade us that the Cultural Revolution was less disruptive than reported. They also demonstrate a transistorized computer called the Yenan 701, which not only solves complex problems but, like an old nickelodeon, plays the Maoist anthem "East is Red." Again, they assert, they succeeded in constructing the computer only after smashing Liu Shao-chi's "revisionist line" during the Cultural Revolution. Asked to clarify the jargon, Mr. Shen explains that experts no longer have an exclusive corner on scientific activity but cooperate with students. I note, however, that he doesn't flatly dismiss expertise, as militants did during the Cultural Revolution, but emphasizes the need for balance between specialization and political purity. Professor Chow chimes in with an account of his own conversion. Although his English is fluent, he speaks in Chinese, occasionally correcting a guide who interprets for us. "Before the Cultural Revolution," he says, "most professors lived comfortably within the confines of the university compound, sometimes visiting factories to consult with technicians but never working alongside workers. We lacked practical experience. We had book knowledge, but we knew nothing about the living conditions of workers and peasants and their advanced ideological status. But after the Cultural Revolution began, I went into factories, put on working clothes and worked with workers. I not only learned their advanced thoughts, but something else I could not find in books: only if you live with workers can you have a common language with them."

Elaborating, Professor Chow explains that he spent a year in Paochi, an industrial city in Shensi province, where workers were having problems handling heavy Soviet-made oil drilling equipment. An expert in mechanical engineering, Professor Chow concentrated in redesigning the equipment in order to make it easier to manage, and, he says, actually succeeded in reducing its weight by nearly half. He would never have been inspired to undertake this task, he contends, had he not become intimate with the "feelings" of workers. I suggest that there is nothing particularly revolutionary about the concern for industrial efficiency, and that brings down the house. "You are only interested in efficiency," charges Mr. Shen, "while we are interested in improving the conditions of the people." I try to ex-

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plain that I mean efficiency in its broadest sense, but somehow, it seems to me, the Chinese equate it with "exploitation." Their sensitivity on the subject is understandable. They are trying to break down traditional attitudes among intellectuals that date back to the days when mandarins grew long fingernails to symbolize their disdain for manual labor. The purpose of this policy is to unify a society that has for centuries been divided between officialdom and the masses. I am not convinced that the Cultural Revolution has eliminated class barriers, but I can appreciate that the Communists would exaggerate for the sake of emphasis.

On our final excursion here, we drive out 20 miles from Sian to Hua Ching, the hot springs at which Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped in December 1936, and, after complicated negotiations, compelled to join the Communists in a united front against the Japanese. Although the abduction was carried out by Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, then a young Manchurian warlord, the Communists have enshrined the site—even to the extent of preserving two bullet holes in the windows of a room from which Chiang Kai-shek fled, losing his false teeth in the melee. As a spa, however, Hua Ching dates back nearly 3000 years, and we are shown its different historic bathhouses, including one that belonged to a celebrated courtesan. We insist upon testing the curative waters and are assigned to private baths. As we leave later, Mrs. Chen Teh-jen, one of our guides, approaches me wearing a shy smile. "Don't tell anyone," she whispers, "but I used the concubine's bath."

## Making Mischief Abroad

# US and ITT in Chile

## by Tad Szulc

The Senate may soon be moving to break the long-standing shadowy alliance between big American corporations and the Central Intelligence Agency and other United States government organs for carrying out covert interventions in the domestic political affairs of foreign countries. As an outcome of hearings held last March by a special Senate subcommittee on the joint involvement of the White House, the CIA, the State Department and the International Telephone and Telegraph Company in secret efforts to block the 1970 election of Chile's Socialist President Salvador Allende Gossens, a bill is being introduced this week to declare such alliances illegal and punishable by imprisonment and fines.

That US corporations have cooperated in varying degrees in the past with the CIA and foreign opposition groups to stage revolutions and *coups d'état* or to interfere in local elections has been widely suspected for nearly 20 years though it could never be precisely documented. Thus the United Fruit Company was believed to have worked hand in hand with the CIA in organizing the 1954 "rebel" invasion of Guatemala (where the company had important holdings) to oust the leftist President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. The company's Boston headquarters, as I still vividly recall, was at the time an excellent source for newsmen in following almost on an hourly basis the progress of the invasion.

In 1964 a number of US companies operating in Brazil were thought to have secretly contributed funds —with the CIA's knowledge—to the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (IBAD), a civilian rightist group that played an important role in triggering the military revolution against President João Goulart, a highly incompetent and corrupt leftist. Later that same year the ITT provided funds (as did the US government) to campaign against Allende in his first but unsuccessful bid for Chile's presidency.

But the first time that this kind of activity could fully be documented and made part of official record was the March hearings (by the subcommittee on multinational corporations of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations) on ITT and Chile. A lengthy subcommittee report, issued this week, describes in detail the contacts between the Nixon administration and ITT during 1970 aimed first at defeating Allende and, later, at keeping him from being confirmed by the Chilean parliament.

The central points in the report are sworn testimony that ITT offered the CIA $1 million in 1970 for anti-

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Allende operations, that while the agency rejected the offer it subsequently suggested to the ITT its own plan for creating economic chaos in Chile, and that action against Allende was studied at least twice by the White House.

The report is the basis for legislation designed to outlaw such private alliances between the US government and American corporations which is being introduced by Senators Church, Symington, Muskie, Case and Percy. The wording of the bill leaves no doubt what the subcommittee had in mind after discovering the ITT's $1 million offer to the CIA. It thus provides that "it is unlawful for any citizen or resident of the United States to offer to make, or to make, a contribution to any agency of the United States or officer, employee, or agent of the United States for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election for public office in another country." Another section declares it to be "unlawful for any officer, employee, or agent of the United States 1) to solicit any citizen or resident of the United States to contribute to, or make an expenditure in support of, any candidate or political party, directly or indirectly, for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election for public office in a foreign country, or 2) to accept a contribution from any citizen or resident of the United States for such purpose."

The ITT's attempts to involve the White House and the CIA in the attempts to intervene in Chilean politics have been generally known since Jack Anderson, the syndicated columnist, published early in 1972 internal ITT documents bearing on the proposed anti-Allende conspiracy. Until the subcommittee investigation, however, the assumption was that ITT was the "aggressive" party and the administration remained passive, virtually ignoring the company's entreaties.

What emerges from the subcommittee's report and other information from sources close to the investigation is that the Nixon administration was profoundly involved in this whole process in 1970 despite official claims of US neutrality in the Chilean elections. Information developed by the Senate investigators thus shows that Chile was the subject of a meeting in June 1970 of the top-secret "Forty Committee" in the White House. The "Forty Committee" is the National Security Council's organ in charge of studying and approving plans for covert action abroad by the CIA and other US intelligence agencies.

This committee is presided over by Henry A. Kissinger, the President's special assistant for national security affairs, and its membership includes the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, the deputy secretary of Defense, the deputy secretary of State, the director of Central Intelligence and, until last year, the attorney general. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1970, when the Nixon administration attempted to put into effect its secret domestic intelligence plan, John Mitchell was attending the meetings of the "Forty Committee" in his capacity as attorney general. As required, other top officials may be invited to sit in on meetings of the "Forty Committee."

The Senate subcommittee's report said that at least three conversations on Chile were held between Richard Helms, then CIA director, and John McCone, a former CIA director and currently an ITT director. According to testimony by McCone in executive session, he had expressed fears of a victory by Allende—ITT has important investments in Chile, including the local telephone company—and asked Helms "whether the US intended to intervene in the election to encourage the support of one of the candidates who stood for the principles that are basic in this country."

"Mr. Helms told Mr. McCone that the matter had been considered by the 'Forty Committee,'" the subcommittee reported. "Helms indicated that some minimal effort would be mounted which 'could be managed within the flexibility of the CIA budget,' that is without seeking additional appropriated funds. Mr. Helms was very pessimistic about the chances of Mr. (Jorge) Alessandri and was of the personal opinion that Dr. Allende would win. This opinion was contrary to the official reports of the US Embassy. Based upon polls commissioned or undertaken by the CIA, the Embassy was reporting that Alessandri would win a plurality." Alessandri was the independent candidate backed by rightist Chilean groups and ITT's hopes were riding on him.

According to subcommittee sources, the "minimal effort" promised McCone by Helms after the June meeting at the White House was an expenditure of $400,000 in CIA funds to assist anti-Allende news media.

It was also Helms, according to the subcommittee, who, in response to McCone's request, arranged for a meeting between ITT President Harold S. Geneen and William V. Broe, the chief of western hemisphere division of the CIA's directorate of plans, the agency's clandestine operations branch. It was at this meeting in July 1970 that Geneen made the $1 million offer to the CIA (as he had also done in 1964) and Broe turned it down.

If, indeed, the CIA and the rest of the administration remained relatively unresponsive to ITT pressure during the summer, this attitude changed after Allende won the largest number of votes in a three-cornered election on September 4. Because he failed to obtain a clear majority, however, the Chilean parliament had to choose between him and Alessandri, the runner-up. To force the choice of Alessandri thus became the strategy of both ITT and the CIA.

A second meeting of the "Forty Committee" on Chile was held on September 14 or 15, according to investigation sources, and there the administration took matters into its own hands. The subcommittee report said that "on September 29, for the first time in the course of the contacts between ITT and the United

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States government, the government took the initiative. Mr. Broe, at the instruction of CIA Director Richard Helms, called Mr. Gerrity in New York and arranged to meet him there."

Ned Gerrity is an ITT vice president and, according to the subcommittee, "Mr. Broe proposed a plan to accelerate economic chaos in Chile as a means of putting pressure on Christian Democratic Congressmen to vote against Dr. Allende or in any event to weaken Dr. Allende's position in case he was elected."

The subcommittee report said that Charles A. Meyer, then assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs, testified that "shortly after the September 4 election, the Forty Committee, at a meeting which he attended, met for the express purpose of discussing US policy in connection with Chile; but he refused to inform the Committee what precisely was said at the meeting, what decisions, if any, were taken and what instructions were communicated to Mr. (Edward) Korry, the US Ambassador in Chile."

"Because neither Mr. Meyer nor Mr. Korry would communicate to the Subcommittee the content of the instructions which Mr. Korry received, and because the State Department would not permit the Subcommittee to have access to the cable traffic between the US Embassy in Santiago and the State Department, it is not possible to determine whether Ambassador Korry did in fact receive a cable, which, in substance, authorized him in the name of the President to do everything possible, short of a Dominican Republic type intervention, to stop Allende from being elected President of Chile," the report said. It added that "Mr. Korry did testify, however, that immediately after Allende won a plurality in the popular election . . . he sent a ten-point cable to the State Department indicating that an Allende presidency would not be in the best interests of the US."

The subcommittee said that contacts between the CIA's Broe and top ITT officials continued well into October as the agency's plan to disrupt the Chilean economy remained under discussion. Curiously, however, the ITT thought the plan was unworkable.

This is a fair recital of the 1970 events and the record shows that in the end the US abstained from rash actions although it used its influence to destroy Chile's international credit standing. But the subcommittee's report raised a major question concerning US policy-making processes in the light of the power exercised by the "Forty Committee." Put another way, the question—just as relevant today as it was in 1970—is whether the "Forty Committee" grants broad policy mandates to the intelligence community and leaves it free to implement them so that the blame for failures of specific projects would be laid to the CIA's door—not the President's.

Commenting on the Chilean episode, the subcommittee said that it cannot determine whether Helms' instructions to Broe to propose economic chaos measures to ITT officials "were a direct outcome of the 'Forty Committee' meeting." "It is clear, however," the report said, "that Mr. Broe's proposal of concrete measures designed to create economic difficulties in Chile . . . was in striking contrast to the pre-September US Government policy of allowing events in Chile to follow their natural course without substantial interference from the US Government." It describes as "weak" the testimony by Assistant Secretary Meyer that Broe's "economic chaos" proposals were a "policy option" and not a "change in policy."

The subcommittee asked these questions: "With what detail are instructions of the 'Forty Committee' communicated to the CIA? Is the 'Forty Committee' informed in advance of the modalities which the Agency contemplates using in carrying out an assignment? Specifically, in this case, was it informed by the CIA that in carrying out a mandate to explore means of influencing the political situation in Chile, use of US companies was contemplated and specific proposals were being made to a particular corporation? Was the benefit to be potentially gained, weighed against its overall negative consequences for US business abroad by the 'Forty Committee'? Or was Helms merely given a general indication of what was desired, to be implemented as he saw fit?

"Did the 'Forty Committee' consider the consequences which would have ensued in the event that the plan to create or accelerate economic chaos in Chile had been successful? It had been the custom in Chile for the Congress to confirm as president the winner of a plurality in the popular election. There was ample evidence that an attempt to interfere with this custom would have lead to bloodshed and, possibly, civil war . . . Did the members of the 'Forty Committee' adequately consider the possibility that, once having launched the US down the road of covert intervention, other, more direct, measures might become necessary to insure the desired result: stopping Allende from becoming President of Chile?"

The subcommittee's final recommendation was that "the time is ripe for an in-depth review by the appropriate congressional committees of the decision-making process in the authorization and conduct of CIA clandestine operations."

There is a bizarre footnote to this whole story. The CIA's director last March, Dr. James M. Schlesinger, authorized Broe, his chief of clandestine operations in Latin America, to testify before the subcommittee only after Senator Church, its chairman, warned him that otherwise the record would show ITT's involvement alone and thus possibly prevent it from collecting US government insurance for the nationalization of the telephone company in Chile. As it happened, however, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the government's investment insurance agency, turned down ITT's claim anyway. Poetic justice?

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# Stanley Kauffmann on theater

## Uncle Vanya

(Circle in the Square)

Mike Nichols has directed a production of Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* with George C. Scott as Dr. Astrov and Nicol Williamson as Vanya. (Williamson is best known in the US for his film of *Inadmissible Evidence* and his theater and film appearances as Hamlet.) I've been waiting eagerly, ever since the first announcement, to see these two fine actors in these roles, but even more eagerly to see Nichols' work. Through his directing career in the theater, he has borne the indictment of refusing to face challenges. Virtually everyone has acknowledged his gifts, but many have accused him of choosing easy plays to work on. The best play he has directed before this was Ann Jellicoe's *The Knack* (done excellently); his last previous play was his fourth Neil Simon comedy, *The Prisoner of Second Avenue* (done soporifically). In every production except the last, he has shown uncanny skill, particularly in timing and inflection, all lavished on easily accessible work.

His film career began with *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* and *The Graduate*, both of which were cinematically competent and in both of which he triumphed with actors. His two subsequent films, *Catch-22* and *Carnal Knowledge*, were lesser. But the standards for judging a film director's career differ substantially from those that apply in the theater. Film directors start from scratch. (Remakes don't figure importantly; and adaptations of classics don't figure importantly with serious directors.) For a theater director, as with a theater actor, the question sooner or later is one that could not signify in film: how does he measure against the great works?

Now Nichols has measured himself: and shows that, in Chekhov, he is still a director of Neil Simon. Does Nichols see *Uncle Vanya* as a comedy? It is apparently a myth that Chekhov thought of his plays as comedies (see the excellent new edition of his letters, edited by Karlinsky and Heim, just published by Harper & Row), still Nichols doesn't even clearly follow the myth. Does he see the play as revolutionary dramaturgy (which it is), where the moment of Aristotelian recognition *changes nothing*? Does he see it as a prophecy of our world? Does he see it as an engine of irony in which the caprices of falling or not falling in love blight lives? Does he see it as a pre-ecology ecological warning? (Chekhov's first version was called *The Wood Demon*, because of Astrov's passion for forests and their preservation.) Tatters of all these ideas float through, but the only really clear idea is that Nichols wants to "be Chekhovian"—that is, have some guitar-strumming and yawning and samovar-tapping and twilights.

So, although he handles movement deftly on the abominably designed stage of the Circle in the Square's new theater, although he achieves some mildly daring compositions (two characters sitting at opposite ends of that race-track stage conversing easily through projected imagination), although there is one good performance and an occasional good moment, the result is a rag-bag, not a production. Against Chekhov, Nichols measures small.

Equally distressing, he has done some bad casting. Julie Christie, star of such films as *The Go-Between* and *Darling*, is Elena, the beautiful, trapped, young wife of the aging professor. Possibly Nichols thought he could repeat the magic he demonstrated with Katharine Ross in *The Graduate* and Candice Bergen in *Carnal Knowledge*—getting a performance from a nonactress. But Elena, to put it mildly, is a more subtle role than the other two, and it has to be created whole in front of us. Christie, who is not even strikingly beautiful anymore, has all the impact of a faded fashion model. Chekhov said he agreed with a correspondent's view that Elena is "a thinking and decent person," not "an apathetic, idle woman, incapable of thinking or even loving." Christie doesn't even come close enough to miss the mark.

Elizabeth Wilson (who was Benjamin's mother in *The Graduate)* is a very good comic actress and conceivably could do a certain kind of serious, thin-edge, near-hysterical acting as well. Here she is Sonya, Vanya's patient niece, in love with Astrov, and is quite wrong at once because she is too old. We can feel no slightest hope that Astrov might marry her, so there is no blasted possibility, no anguish. What is worse, Wilson has been directed to play such moments as the confession of her love to Elena like a giddy comic spinster, so that Sonya is left without pathos, without dignity and without "position" in the play. Then when we arrive at her famous last speech, in which she tells her uncle how they will work together and rest at last, we get the mirror-image of the giddy comedy—a tear-bath that would float a cruiser. In both cases the character is adulterated because the director is reaching for effects, not fulfilling a design.

Cathleen Nesbitt, an old beauty, is

*(continued on page 33)*

## Films Worth Seeing

*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie.* Luis Buñuel, seventy-something and something to marvel at, plays slyly with middle-class corruption.

*The Friends of Eddie Coyle.* Underworld sociology that *looks* all wrong—soft and mushy—but has gritty dialogue. Robert Mitchum solid as criminal prole.

*Last Tango in Paris.* A lot of it is adolescently stark and sententious, but the early Brando-Schneider sex scenes are powerful.

*Memories of Underdevelopment.* Fascinating, sensitive Cuban film about a bourgeois intellectual in the first days of the Castro revolution.

*Payday.* The last 36 hours in the life of a country-music star, played pungently by Rip Torn. Pleasantly different from some recent pretentiousness, it's more serious than it seems.

*State of Siege.* Fictional re-creation of the Tupamaro abduction and murder of an American official in Uruguay, 1970. Questionably objective, but generally gripping.

*A Touch of Class.* Old-fashioned comedy-romance, up to date. Mostly fast and frivolous. George Segal good as Yank in London, Glenda Jackson shows dazzling light-comic range.

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# The Flower Beneath The Footnotes

## Prancing Novelist

### by Brigid Brophy

(Barnes and Noble; $20)

Since Ronald Firbank's death in 1926, his novels have attracted a small but aristocratic set of admirers. For the young Evelyn Waugh, Firbank's "coy naughtiness about boys and birches," the silliness and "ineradicable fatuity," did not obscure his innovative accomplishment in fiction. Unfettered "by chains of cause and effect," books like *Valmouth* and *The Flower Beneath the Foot* seemed to offer a new way to represent reality in the novel: an intricate, poised alternation of comic extravagance, stylistic economy and arresting conversational nuance. In the same year, E. M. Forster agreed that in his "flit-about fashion," this butterfly had genius. Not particularly intelligent, ignorant of general ideas, unconcerned with passion, compassion or dispassion, Firbank—like Thomas Love Peacock a century earlier—still managed to produce comic novels of great originality and freshness. In the 1930s and '40s, some readers began to see more to Firbank's enameled surfaces than had previously met the eye. Beneath the glitter, Edmund Wilson perceived "dense textures of indirection," and through the sniggers, he heard the anguish of "a poet of the *fou rire*." Firbank, he insisted, was "one of the finest English writers of his period and one of those most likely to become a classic."

Although Firbank's admirers have never been short of praise, they generally agree that his achievement is of a limited and very special kind, deserving an elegant paragraph, perhaps, not a chapter, in the literary history of the time. But now along comes Brigid Brophy nursing a powerful grudge against the people who attach "that soiled and sticky label 'minor'" to *The Complete Ronald Firbank*. Not only is he "the first novelist in English to create a 20th century aesthetic, idiom, and technique," but according to Miss Brophy, Firbank is a major figure in his own right. To support this claim, she offers *Prancing Novelist: a Defence of Fiction in the Form of a Critical Biography in Praise of Ronald Firbank*—a monstrous 592-page book, bulky, unbuttoned, hectoring, repetitious, unselective, choked with footnotes—just the wrong kind of memorial for a writer as precious as Firbank.

Cutting through the jungle of detail, one finds an argument that goes something like this. During the 19th century, novelists and readers took two wrong turns. Writers thought fiction should tell a story, teach a lesson and mirror the outside world. Readers reveled in narrative, but shamefully, since they dimly recognized what all post-Freudians know to be true: that novels are daydreams and daydreams are masturbation fantasies. Enter Ronald Firbank, who understands that the masturbatory origin of novels is the source of their power and their glory. Fiction then becomes not a mirror of the world, but a decorative design based on the writer's steamy fantasy life, no longer plot-bound, logical, mimetic, but imagistic, irrational, associative, autonomous. To help us understand the sources and generative energies of Firbank's novels, Miss Brophy then offers a portrait of the artist as a victim of an expulsion trauma. After his parents sold their richly storied house at Chislehurst, Firbank felt cast out of paradise, joined the Roman Catholic Church, and spent the rest of his life writing fantastic stories about the lost kingdom of his childhood and royalty down on its luck, with his mother as queen and himself as princess.

The first part of Miss Brophy's tract (the polemical defense of fiction) is no contest, false to the facts of literary history and to the valid uses of psychoanalytical criticism. She summarily calls all the great 19th-century novelists naturalists and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* Dickens' best book. In an unhappily characteristic sentence, she announces: "Nakedly baroque as a putto's bottom, and yet already jouncing in the rhythms of jazz, *Vainglory* emerged in 1915—and with it 20th century fiction" (a remark that makes the work of James, Conrad, Forster, Lawrence and Joyce seem a mere prelude to Ronald Firbank). Strewn alongside these judgments are the remains of flogged horses and straw men: the novel isn't dead, reading fiction need not be shameful, Jane Austen was no miniaturist, and so on. Oddly, Miss Brophy believes that this concoction of error and stale opinion is "Irish nationality" that will infuriate some readers. Irish garrulity and embarrassment seem closer to the point.

Part II—the mammoth biographical section—is more reliable, but hardly easier to read. Ill-informed assertiveness gradually gives way to indefatigable Germanic source-hunting. Nothing about Firbank is alien to Miss Brophy. She knows the name of the photographer who snapped her hero at the age of six and the nationality of the woman who typed *Santal* (and she tells us these things and much, much more). Yet from behind the mountain of documentation a real man does finally appear. Not the father of 20th-century fiction, but a designer of 20th-century camp. Firbank adored butterflies, flowers, his own fingers, italics, nuns, alcohol, small boys, icons, innuendo, flagellation, purple ink, exotic places, Negro jazz, Russian ballet, saints' lives, Oscar Wilde and book titles like *The Women Queens of England.* He feared and/or disliked mice, personal intimacy, abstract ideas, putting on weight, seeing himself in profile and thinking about politics, morality, criticism or dying. Even if he had not written novels, Firbank may well have been given a footnote in the history of taste as author of the classic camp postcard: "Tomorrow I go to Hayti. They say the President is a *Perfect Dear.*"

But he did write those airy, insinuating novels and has earned a genuine if marginal place in English literature. About the extraordinary artifice of Firbank's fiction, Miss Brophy has shrewd things to say. Yet the more she talks about lyric brevity, reverberating images, eloquent silence, textual spacing and novels that seal themselves in their own autonomy, the more convincing is the conventional wisdom that Firbank's talent is tiny. At times, Miss Brophy seems to glimpse the truth and her frantic language reveals the absurdity of erecting such a monument to a butterfly. Within three pages, *Vainglory* is called "a collage, a counterpoint of superimposed images: an etching of an

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English cathedral city across which Firbank drags the warm spotted colour of Titian's bacchanal rout . . . a frieze in low relief . . . a complex grand fugue for full orchestra, symphonic in its breadth."

Something of the same futility marks Miss Brophy's effort to establish Firbank as a major pioneer of modernism. The truth is that most of the things he did were better done before he was born and by writers who came afterward. Sterne, in *Tristram Shandy*, had a greater genius for typographical foolery and obscene whimsy; James, in *The Awkward Age*, produced a splendid dialogue novel in which real worlds of meaning exist in the spaces between the conversation; Fitzgerald's list of the guests at Gatsby's parties is worth all Firbank's clowning with nomenclature; and Waugh, Henry Green and Anthony Powell (who have learned from Firbank) are writers of greater variety and range.

Firbank's essential limitations stem from the narrowness of his interests and the severity of his estheticism. In a letter to his sister, he once remarked that "there is bound to be *ennui*, when things become real," and he described ordinary life as "a nightmare of ugliness." To escape he lived in his imagination and created in his novels an idiosyncratic secondary world in which wit, exoticism and outrageous affectation banish boredom and diminish pain. Loss, cruelty, terror and death are, of course, present in Firbank's fiction, but rarely in ways that seriously disturb the brilliant effect of his decorative design. Cardinal Pirelli is stricken with heart failure but he has been running naked (except for his mitre) in pursuit of the choirboy Chicklet down the aisles of a Spanish basilica. An aspiring ingénue drops to her death in a trap beneath a stage, but when Miss Brophy calls *Caprice* "Firbank's *Romeo and Juliet:* an early, poetic and perfect tragedy," the delicacy of a *jeu d'esprit* is violated.

Firbank himself rarely made imprecise or exaggerated claims for his talent. When *The Flower Beneath the Foot* was published, he told Carl Van Vechten: "its parfum is what concerns me most & if it is exotic & elusive & bafflingly *embaumé*, the gardener, (poor dear), will be glad." That (and perhaps Edmund Wilson's essay in *Classics and Commercials*) is about all one needs to read Firbank.

**Lawrence Graver**

# Bland New World

## The Next Phase in Foreign Policy

### edited by Henry Owen*

(The Brookings Institution; $8.95 cloth, $3.50 paper)

Max Beerbohm, asked to undertake a specified writing assignment, replied, "To do justice to this subject would require the services of a pen far less brilliant than mine." But I shall do my duty, even though this book reads as if it had been written by a committee typing with mittens. This is not surprising, when one reads the biographical notes at the end of the book: the editor and the 13 essayists are now or have been research fellows at the Brookings Institution, Washington's prestigious think-tank, and have all previously served in the government, mostly the State Department, a notorious corrupter of prose styles. The editor was chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, a post once held by George Kennan (the brilliant exception who proves the rule about department service and deteriorating prose). When Henry Owen moved to Brookings to become director of Foreign Policy Studies, he wrote a weekly column for *The Washington Post* so exquisitely judicious in analysis and so delicately balanced in presentation that some of his irreverent juniors at Brookings entitled it "Straight from the Other Hand."

That would make an apt title for the present work.

This must be caused by the Brookings system, since many of the contributors have elsewhere shown skill, liveliness and originality (it's hard to believe that the John Newhouse who wrote the brilliant, if somewhat long-winded, series on SALT recently in *The New Yorker* is the same John Newhouse who writes on "The United States and Western Europe" in this volume). Getting a manuscript through the byzantine Brookings bureaucracy is like docking the Queen Mary without tugboats. The standard institutional disclaimer that always appears as a preface to Brookings publications reveals part of the reason for the muffled tone that almost invariably emerges:

"The President bears final responsibility for the decision to publish a manuscript as a Brookings book or staff paper. In reaching his judgment on the competence, accuracy, and objectivity of each study, the President is advised by the director of the appropriate research program and weighs the views of a panel of expert outside readers who report to him in confidence on the quality of the work. Publication of a work signifies that it is deemed to be a competent treatment worthy of public consideration; such publication does not imply endorsement of conclusions or recommendations contained in the study."

This stately quadrille is even more complex at the working level. Typically a senior fellow is brought in (they come in droves after a change of administration: "Government in Exile" is a common term for the current crop), given an office, a typewriter and an assignment. His first-draft chapters are circulated among his colleagues, who meet informally to discuss them. The director of the research program is consulted frequently, and frequently suggests changes, sometimes making them himself. When the revised manuscript meets his approval, it goes upstairs to the president, whose desk is, as in most institutions, the tightest bottleneck in the place. When he does read it, he either sends it back downstairs for revision, or out for detailed review and commentary by the "panel of expert outside readers"—usually three. Their replies, with names deleted, go to the fellow, for further revision of the ms. The process of consultation with colleagues, review by the program director and transmission upstairs, is then repeated. Every revision inevitably tends toward the straining out of the red corpuscles and toward the least common denominator consensus of an interdepartmental committee recommenda-

*Essays by Morton H. Halperin, John Newhouse, Ralph N. Clough, Robert E. Hunter, Peter T. Knight and John N. Plank, Zbigniew Brzezinski, A. Doak Barnett, Edward R. Fried, Leslie H. Gelb and Arnold M. Kuzmack, Jerome H. Kahan, Leslie H. Gelb, Seyom Brown.

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tion. The wonder in the end is not that the books are not done well, but that they are done at all.

Of the result of this process currently supposed to be under review, it may be said that the essays are at least short. It may also be said that the book puts the foreign policy establishment's stamp of approval on recently emergent perceptions on the end of the Cold War, the abatement of military confrontation, the shift of emphasis in the '70s to economic rather than military and political problems, the new break-line in the world along North-South rather than East-West lines, the ecological crisis, the inadequacy of the nation-state system to cope with global problems, and the emergence of new transnational forms, both public and private.

So far, so good. The analysis of where we are is competent; in some cases thought-provoking, notably parts of Henry Owen's introduction, Leslie Gelb's essay on "Domestic Change and National Security" and Doak Barnett's essay on "U. S. Relations with China" (although one has the feeling that one has read this before, perhaps two or three times, and probably in *The New York Times Magazine*). But most of the prescriptive writing is straight-line projection of currently evolving policies, all very much within the system, all as if written by men (no women—hmm) anxious to get back to official desks in the national security apparatus. The analysis of present and future perils suggests the need for drastic systems change; the prescriptions call for more of the same old procedures (tempered, it should be said, by more humanity and humility than we have been accustomed to).

Zbigniew Brzezinski, in his chapter on "U. S.-Soviet Relations," calls for the United States "to undertake a major intellectual effort to define socially acceptable international goals as the foundation for a consistent foreign policy, one capable of commanding the popular support it enjoyed in most of the fifties and early sixties." This book, alas, does not make much of a contribution to that effort. But it at least raises some of the right questions, in however well-modulated a tone.

**Charles G. Bolte**

**Coming**

*The Recent Poetry of Robert Lowell*

by Marjorie G. Perloff

# Who Determines The National Interest?

## War and Politics

by Bernard Brodie

(Macmillan; $8.95)

For those who believe national security and military strategy are too important to be left entirely to Presidents and so-called military experts, Bernard Brodie has written a useful book. The author is one of America's foremost military strategists and a charter member of the dwindling community of civilian defense-intellectuals. While this latest book probably will not have the profound impact of his 1959 classic, *Strategy in the Missile Age*, it is nonetheless a valuable addition to the literature of the thermonuclear era.

There is a noticeable difference in tone between the two books; in the new volume Brodie is less detached and analytical. He has also changed his basic military stance since 1959. Arguing then for more than just the nuclear weapons required for minimum deterrence, he suggested that "if deterrence fails we shall want enough forces to fight a total war effectively." And in italics, he added: "*So long as there is a finite chance of war, we have to be interested in outcomes; and although all outcomes would be bad, some would be very much worse than others.*" Now he does not think we need a force to wage—as distinct from *deter*—nuclear war. His new attitude is implied in his evaluation of a remark made by General Earle Wheeler, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had suggested to a congressional committee that the American defense posture should be such that *after* a nuclear war "'the United States and its allies

## *For My Mother in the Woods*

In the story I tell
We are still sitting there
In that story her childhood
That she is unfolding about her
While the surprising
Water falls through the woods
Out of the hill under her mother's garden.

Here we have walked through the woods
Where she walked with her mother,
And the water is falling exactly where they found it,
And I sit on the rock where she sat
Before I was there, before her childhood
Turned into the world where I sit
In her marvellous story.

I am sitting there still
In the story I tell
In the place I shall never revisit,
I with my mother and she
Perhaps with hers;
And the water is there as it was
And still it is going away and is not returning.

JOHN N. MORRIS

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[will] emerge with a relative advantage irrespective of the circumstances of initiation, response, and termination.' " Brodie ridicules the remark, saying: "General Wheeler is willing to pay a gigantic price for an 'advantage,' which if meaningful at all, could really be quite trivial."

Vietnam has affected Brodie's perceptions about war and strategy; he now attaches moral values to the analysis of policy. The index of the new book, for example, contains four entries under the heading "Morality"; the 1959 book had none. On the other hand, the first book had six entries under the heading "Morale, civilian" whereas the new book has none. These entries are emblematic of a decided shift in the author's concerns. Once he was primarily concerned with such military calculations as "urban-area bombing effects on civilian morale"; now he is questioning the morality of such bombing.

The shift is by no means complete. He argues—rightly, in my view—for the traditional conception of "vital interests" determining policy. He quotes approvingly Arthur Schlesinger's observation that moralists " 'tend to prefer symbolic to substantive politics . . . [hence] the heirs of John Foster Dulles and the disciples of Noam Chomsky are equal victims of the same malady. Both regard foreign policy as a branch of ethics. They end up as mirror images of each other.' " Yet Brodie elsewhere displays an ambivalent attitude toward the role of morality in policy. When he writes that "in Vietnam, what was looked upon originally as a limited and short-term commitment sucked us into something no political leader in his right mind could possibly have chosen," he seems to be arguing for an amoral determination of policy. When he subsequently says that with Vietnamization "the extra lives lost were thus Vietnamese rather than American, but that, too, is presumably compatible with wartime 'honor,' " he seems to be pressing for a moral distinction. I cite these fluctuations, not because they flaw the work, but to highlight how difficult it is to view strategy, war and Vietnam through either a strictly moral or strictly amoral set of lenses.

The main value of the book lies in the observations and conclusions Brodie draws from specific events and policies; the reader is mercifully spared any grandiose theories of causality. One major lesson of Vietnam is the danger inherent in a "limited commitment": "From as early as the beginning of 1968 even the most favorable outcome, from within the spectrum of outcomes that one could reasonably regard as possible, could not remotely be worth the price we would have paid for it." But a new President continued the war, judging that a rapid liquidation of our involvement would destroy American "prestige," "credibility" and, ultimately, "honor." We failed in Vietnam, Brodie writes, because "we attempted to support a government that our leaders knew to be both inept and corrupt and, in President Kennedy's words, 'out of touch with the people.' " What to us was a "limited war . . . was a total war for our opponents."

In 1945, after the atomic bomb had been dropped on Japan, Brodie wrote: "Thus far the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them." Deterrence of nuclear war is unquestionably the principal purpose of American nuclear forces—some would say *only* purpose—but that concept has never sat well with generals and admirals. They believe in the offensive with almost a religious fervor: an attitude that is at odds with stable deterrence. Hence the constitutional requirement for civilian control of the military has greater importance now than it has ever had; the military must be made to serve the national interest, not determine it. President Kennedy made the point more directly when he reportedly observed that if we had to go to war he wanted General LeMay in the lead bomber but that LeMay should not be in a position to decide *if* we went to war.

Brodie seems optimistic about the future—an attitude shared by few other military strategists. We have had a détente with the Soviet Union since 1962 and have recently begun one with China. Attitudes toward war are changing for the better: "Where war was once accepted as inevitably a part of the human condition," he says, "the modern attitude has moved towards rejection of the concept of war as a means of resolving international or other disputes . . . Present justifications of war and of preparations for war appear to be confined largely to self-defense—expanded by the superpowers to include defense of client states—or, in a very few instances, correction of what is conceived to be the most blatant injustice." He sees a precedent for the ending of war: "The institution of the personal duel, with its elaborate codes defining purpose and procedures, endured for centuries and then quite suddenly disappeared from practically all societies on earth."

With the United States and the Soviet Union pointing thousands of megatons of destructive power at each other, Brodie had better be right.

**Peter J. Ognibene**

# Charisma on the Wrong Side

## Father Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower

### by Sheldon Marcus

(Little, Brown; $8.95)

It is hard to write an objective biography of Father Coughlin. Marcus has succeeded remarkably well, better than Charles J. Tull did with his 1965 biography. For one thing, Marcus received the personal cooperation of Coughlin, which was refused to Tull. For another, Marcus used a richer variety of sources. As a result, although both biographers reach essentially the same conclusion Marcus is both more informative ar more convincing.

In evaluating Coughlin, it is fair begin with one plus. He eloquently d nounced the inequality of the distrib tion of the country's wealth and incom He was deeply troubled at the plight so many millions of his fellow Ame

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cans who, through no fault of their own, lacked minimum food and clothing and shelter. He was shocked at the apparent apathy of the Hoover administration. By the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929 he already had a national radio audience. In the 1930s he became "the most powerful figure, outside of government, in the United States."

Coughlin was not a clear thinker. He tended toward simplistic generalizations: international bankers control the world; capitalism and communism are similar because both concentrate control of the means of production, the former in the hands of wealthy individuals, the latter in the hands of the state; the monetary crisis should be solved by printing more money and distributing it. Coughlin has been described as a Populist, but he was too unsystematic, too inconsistent to be classed with any particular school of thought.

He supported FDR in his first campaign and was even invited to help prepare the President's inaugural address. In September 1935 Coughlin was invited to Hyde Park and the President had a long conference with him from 7:00 am to 2:00 pm, but even this extraordinary event was not enough to retain Coughlin's loyalty. The New Deal was not extreme enough for him. He broke definitely with Roosevelt, and in the 1936 elections launched a third party, the National Union Party, whose candidate was overwhelmingly defeated. The defeat was the end of Coughlin's political influence.

The defeat seemed also to mark the end of Coughlin's power to be constructive. His radio talks and the articles in his periodical, *Social Justice*, became more and more strident. An ugly strain of anti-Semitism began to appear. Although Coughlin disclaimed being anti-Semitic, the evidence against him is overwhelming. The publication of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" in *Social Justice* was unforgivable. So were the priest's friendly attitude toward the notorious Christian Front and many of his separate strongly anti-Semitic statements.

When the war broke out in Europe in 1939 Coughlin was strongly isolationist, and even when the United States entered the war his opposition continued. In 1940 radio stations refused his broadcasts. In 1942 *Social Justice* ceased publication. The government felt that it had sufficient grounds to prosecute Coughlin under the Espionage Act of 1917, but since a public trial would have made a martyr of him the potential prosecutors persuaded the priest's ecclesiastical superior to take action instead. On May 1, 1942 Archbishop Mooney of Detroit ordered Coughlin to cease his writings and nonreligious activities or be defrocked. Coughlin complied and remained as pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower until he was retired in 1966 at the age of 75.

Modern antiwar activists may admire Coughlin for his antiwar attitude, but it is only fair to point out that it did not come from any deep-seated pacifist philosophy. He opposed the war because he felt the United States had taken the wrong side. Coughlin was passionately, even hysterically, anti-Communist, and saw much to praise in Hitler's Germany. Also he was very anti-British, like many Irish-Americans of his day as well as ours.

Some of Father Coughlin's financial manipulations were a bit shady. As Marcus states, they "may have been legal, but at the very least, they misled much of the public." He begged for money to build a new church and finance his broadcasts; but "a substantial part of this money was then utilized to purchase real estate, and stocks, provide for a loan for his father, and establish a profit-making corporation that published a newspaper." He founded a Social Justice Poor Society and stated that it was to assist the poor, but it did not. "He denounced those who became rich from speculative and business ventures, but he himself became wealthy and today still lives in one of the most exclusive areas of suburban Detroit."

Coughlin had little long-term effect on his country's history. The present younger generation has never heard of him. Yet his lesson remains. If a totalitarian revolution should ever occur in this country, it will occur when the country falls into some situation even more disastrous than the Great Depression, and when some leader comes forward as charismatic as Coughlin, but less scrupulous, more ambitious and more politically clever than he.

**Paul Hanly Furfey**

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

AWRENCE GRAVER *teaches English at Williams College.* CHARLES G. BOLTE, *with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace when it undertook a joint venture with the Brookings Institution, is freelancing in Maine. Poet* JOHN N. MORRIS *is the author of* Green Business *(Atheneum).* MONSIGNOR FURFEY *teaches sociology at Catholic University.*

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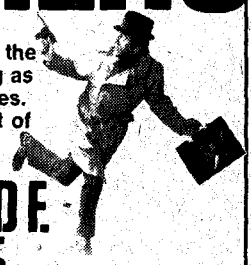

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# In Brief

## Infinite Riches by David Magee

(Eriksson; $8.95)

David Magee has been a trader in rare books in San Francisco for nearly half a century. He would much prefer a first edition of *Tarzan and the Apes* to anything having to do with the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy (before setting forth on his own he worked for a bookseller who favored the latter and who thereby prejudiced Magee against it for life), but he is a well-read and enthusiastic *litterateur* nonetheless. He is English, with a Dickensian flair for extravagant statement and a nice feeling for the eccentricities of book collectors and for arcane incidents at auctions. He tries to play down money details but as money is at the heart of the trade he does not succeed; his best stories are of buying cheap and selling high, and vice versa.

## Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A. C. Vroman, 1895-1904 by William Webb and Robert A. Weinstein

(Grossman; $25)

By the end of the 19th century the Indians of the Southwest and their white conquerors had reached a détente of sorts: the Indians had given up fighting for their right to live in their own way and free of interference from outsiders, and the white man had stopped treating Indians purely as objects of military attention. As a result, Indians became increasingly sullen, evasive, withdrawn; and their rulers insisted that "civilization" take hold. Missionaries came from all over. Bureaucrats from Washington showed up. And as the two authors of this book's text indicate, a host of anthropologists whose zeal for knowledge was unfortunately matched by their arrogance also showed up. The Indians submitted—what choice had they, by then?—to these new forms of intrusion, and soon enough there were thousands trapped in the extreme poverty, the widespread unemployment (often approaching 80 or 90 percent), the malnutrition and high infant mortality rates which have characterized reservation life in New Mexico and Arizona.

Yet all along it has been possible for another kind of contact to be established between the Pueblos or Navahos and "us." Photographer A. C. Vroman was an intelligent and resourceful Californian (for a while he ran a bookstore in Pasadena) who set out to document how those people lived, not to show how clever he was with the camera or to expose "evils," but to portray the strength and dignity of men and women who, though defeated and suffering, held on tenaciously to their own beliefs and values. Behind their reserve and stolid, sometimes surly reticence, were charm and peacefulness and joyfulness, qualities these photographs show. Vroman brings to us the honorable intentions and thorough decency of Indians who are to be seen living, working, engaging in ceremonies, making do. Mr. Webb and Mr. Weinstein have done a fine job of selecting, arranging and annotating the photographs. They have also written a clear and moving introduction; one learns about the particular problems this gifted photographer faced and successfully surmounted, and more generally, one is given a readable account of the history of documentary or social photography. The photographs have been well produced, on excellent paper.

## Selected Prose 1909-1965 by Ezra Pound edited by William Cookson

(New Directions; $15)

Ezra Pound had a great distrust of generalizations, and preferred to imagine that he was himself one of those who "seeks out the luminous detail and presents it." He remained, despite this theoretical prejudice, a wild generalizer on all subjects that came within his ken: education, literature, money, the American character, the gods, the past, what not. And as the editor of this important new volume asserts, his general social and economic beliefs pervaded the poetry and are therefore not, despite many critics' assertions to the contrary, to be separated out from it so that the poetry may be considered by itself.

A know-it-all, Pound was particularly unrelenting on the subject of usury, and his fanaticism here has been the primary source of what would now seem to be the prevailing American opinion of the man—a poet with a fine ear, a polemical tongue and a confused brain. This collection may not change that verdict substantially, yet it does demonstrate how wide ranging his concerns could be, and how good-humoredly and without excessive authoritarianism he could, when he chose, discuss them. It is a big book intelligently divided by subject, with the heaviest and longest section properly devoted to "Civilisation, Money and History." A major contribution to the Pound file. Of particular interest is the half-page foreword by Pound himself, written a few months before his death, in which is confirmed his aged recantation of much that he campaigned for in years of vigor. Thus he concludes: "RE USURY: I was out of focus, taking a symptom for a cause. The cause is AVARICE." Even in recantation, one notes, the tone remains lordly.

## Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT by John Newhouse

(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $7.95)

This is the only publicly available account of the two-and-a-half years of negotiations that led to the 1972 Moscow agreements. The US and the USSR had agreed that the Strategic Arms Limitation talks (SALT) would be conducted in secrecy, in order to encourage candor and flexibility. On the whole the rule of privacy was carefully observed, except for occasional brief reports that appeared in the American press. (The Russians were irritated by these leaks but seemed to understand that such American eccentricities are to be expected.) What makes *Cold Dawn* important are the detailed revelations of discussions that took place behind closed doors in Helsinki and Vienna and the equally tough negotiations between the various satrapies of the American bureaucracy in Washington. (Will we ever learn of the parallel conflicts within the Kremlin?) Mr. Newhouse has been the chosen instrument for the publication of a vast array of official data still very closely held—indeed some of it is unknown even to members of the delegation staff. He names, summarizes and dates National Security Council studies and decisions. He has had access to notes of private

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tête-à-têtes, telegrams and telephone conversations. For the next 50 years his book will be a primary source for historians.

It is difficult to criticize Newhouse's accuracy or judgment, since he is dealing with arcane material not available to other scholars. But the reader can get his bearings rather quickly: he is seeing the procession from the viewpoint of Henry Kissinger at the White House rather than that of Gerard Smith at the SALT delegation; he notes that the important talks are in the "back channel." The conference is less important. Coming at a time when all documents remain highly classified and the participants are under a pledge of silence, when the government has yet to issue basic descriptions of the negotiations, the agreements or their verification procedures, save for the few pages of turgid bureaucratese that appear in annual reports and collections of documents, the publication of *Cold Dawn* demonstrates that monopolistic control of history is a considerable executive privilege.

## The Sinner
## by Stuart MacGregor

(O'Hara; $6.95)

So a pop art person says of the traditionalists, "You and he claim to be idealists, keeping up the classical standards. But you're no different from me, we're all backing different horses in the race to significance. You've backed the esoteric, I've backed the popular. . . ." To which the esoterics' reply, among many, is, "You'll finish up selling pornography in Peking. Scope for a brave revisionist there . . . market's wide open."

The scene for all this is neither Peking nor America but Scotland. The occasion is the planning and staging of an arts festival by a literary traditionalist who is also a giant and a mystic, and who has in his company our protagonist, Denis Sellars. Denis in turn has a twin brother who is the enemy incarnate, a pop singer who has made it on TV and who is a leader in a competitive festival that steals talent and audience, and finally Denis himself—hence *The Sinner*—away from the side of good guys.

This plot, as outlined, misrepresents the novel's unbusinesslike, romantic, interior qualities. A rich prose that is sometimes too juicy but always clearly the voice of a strong, receptive, wide-ranging intelligence subordinates the festival conflict to the thoughts and brayings of the rich cast. There are also some fine pub brawls. Stuart MacGregor is an impressive writer.

## 555 Families: A Socio-Psychological Study of Young Families in Transition
## by Ludwig L. Geisman

(Dutton; $9.75)

Who speaks for the kind of families written about in this book? All too often, an assortment of rhetoricians—social scientists prominent among them these days. We have heard the black, the poor, the working-class people of this country called a host of names, some well-intentioned, some at best condescending. And many of the theories have been based on the flimsiest of evidence: a questionnaire, a few statistics culled from a survey. Computers are mentioned, percentages paraded, and usually a sweeping generalization (the more unequivocal and portentous the


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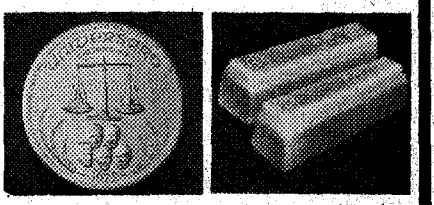

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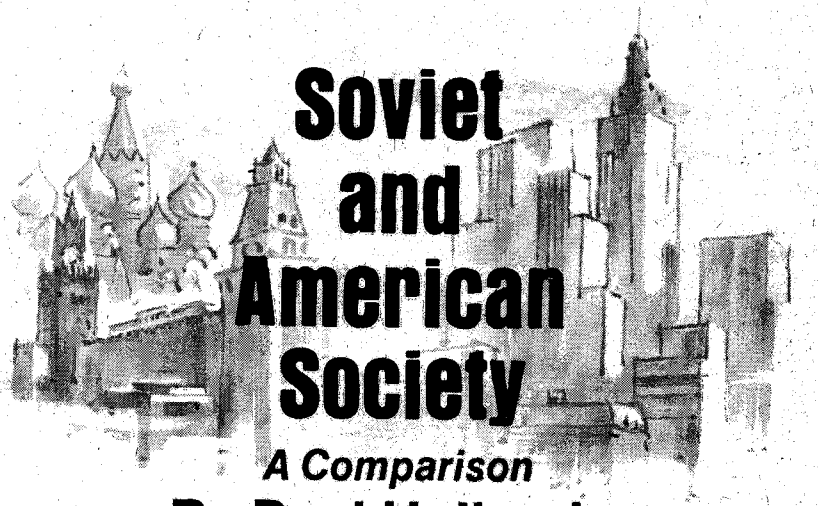

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better) offered up in triumph. Meanwhile millions of relatively poor families struggle along, come to terms with the severe stresses which daily come their way; and if they falter, they also have their triumphs—small and insubstantial, but maybe more honorable because won at great cost and sometimes without the slightest deceit or dishonesty.

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Foreword by **G. William Domhoff**

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## Regiment of Women
## by Thomas Berger

(Simon & Schuster; $8.95)

> . . . A leisurely foam bath and an electric shave of face, chest, and calves also helped. He was almost composed as he returned to the bedroom, rosy from the towel and fragrant, and though his search for a decent pair of pantyhose was unsuccessful and he would have to put on a set of which the right ankle was laddered, he put a fingertip in his mouth and stayed together.

What have we here on page two, a poor transvestite struggling to make it in the male-dominated heterosexual world? So it seems, but no. As Georgie Cornell, a 29-year-old unmarried secretary, leaves for a pre-work session with his shrink because he fears he can't make it through the day, he enters a world in which Thomas Berger has turned everything around.

It's the 21st century, and all the roles are reversed: women dress in pinstriped suits, smoke cigars, strap down their bosoms and hold all the positions of power; men dress as Georgie does, are secretaries, maids, manicurists and get drafted for a six-month tour of national duty in semen milking camps. Men hide behind tears and women use force and profanity. Sex is anal, with a dildo strapped over trousers. If a man rebels, he faces the ultimate punishment, castration.

Castration or no castration, Georgie rebels and is joined by Harriet, a failed FBI agent. Together, in the book's best scenes, they strike out to form a brave old world.

Berger has written several highly praised satires, especially *Vital Parts* and *Little Big Man,* but this one is disappointing. Once the conceit is established, the examples used to advance the analogy no longer surprise. Even though it soon is clear that Berger is not after the liberation movement but rather the entire problem of "roles," the book still bogs down. Serious satire should bring some tears with the bright sayings.

Original drawings by Thom Hickam contact New Republic, Box 6470

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## Sweatshops in the Sun
by Ronald B. Taylor

(Beacon; $6.95)

The plight of tenant farmers and migrant farmworkers has been a fertile subject for writers, photographers and TV newsmen. One thinks of John Steinbeck, James Agee, Carey McWilliams, Robert Coles, Dorothea Lange and Edward R. Murrow, among others. Unfortunately their words and images did not change things very much, so new books, reports, documentaries, etc., continue to appear. *Sweatshops in the Sun* is among the best of these. Its focus is child labor on the farm, and it is written with grace as well as genuine indignation. Though the use of children as industrial workers was outlawed in 1938, some 800,000 children still toil on other people's farms. They face pesticide fumes and hazardous farm machines; their schooling is intermittent and generally useless; their health is poor, their culture is that of the labor camp, and their future is not very bright.

Ronald Taylor grew up in a small San Joaquin Valley farming town during the days when CIO meant "Come In Okie" and Mexican-American farmworkers were almost invisible. At 13 he was picking peaches, raisins and cotton for 35 cents an hour. Later he went to an agricultural college and became a cowboy conservative, bucking horses in rodeos and firmly hewing to the John Wayne view of things. In the late 1950s he became a farm reporter for the *Fresno Bee* and realized that some of the verities he grew up with were merely convenient myths, among them the notion that farm labor is good for children because it strengthens their character and teaches them valuable lessons about work and money. The only value of child labor, Taylor recognized, is that it's cheap. "The farm is not a good place for children to work, just as no factory, no mine, no cotton mill is a good place to work . . . Children should not *have* to work. They should not be used to depress the labor market, should not be used to take the place of breadwinners." He urges enactment of a federal minimum wage for farmworkers of $2.25 an hour, extension of unemployment insurance, more rural day care centers, and above all a Wagner-type act enabling farmworkers to build a union as strong as those in industry.

## Kauffmann, *from page 24*

Vanya's mother. Lillian Gish usually plays the nurse but was out of the performance I saw. Barnard Hughes, as the pedantic professor, is merely a fussy old crank, devoid of benevolent pomp and unctuous oppression. Without those qualities, the "recognition" referred to above falls flat.

George C. Scott, a magnificent actor, is poor, not even magnificently poor, as Astrov, the lonely idealist doctor, who echoes Chekhov's own medical experience of epidemics and his social concerns for Russia's future. Scott is now a bit fat and the night I went was very hoarse. But, more important, like his director he has no *idea* of the part, no intent or subscription; he just scans the surface for chances to score. He smokes cigarettes and cigars very nicely from time to time, and he finds a few places in which to slam the table in Scottish fury. (There's not much of that fury in Astrov.) In the opening scene he plays "against" the lines very effectively, with breeziness and no self-pity, as he tells the nurse how he has changed in 10 years, but this approach soon dribbles into a muddle of differing tacks.

The one impressive performance is Nicol Williamson's Vanya. Williamson —to complete the gamut of this aspect of miscasting—is too young! He doesn't remotely look the 47 he is supposed to be. And he sometimes grinds his lines to a conclusion like a terrier shaking a rat. But he has a vision of Vanya, as a man with abilities and with shackles, a good farm manager and a poor social operative, a good mind and a poor ability to advance his ideas; and Williamson has lovely vocal color and a power of emotional conviction to bring the above to flower. I believed his love for Elena, his loathing of the professor, I believed in the man who believed them. The outburst in which he takes the two wild shots at the professor is the most difficult scene in the play and, paradoxically, it's the most successful scene in this production, because of Williamson.

Nichols apparently wanted an all-star cast, but he has proved a poor astronomer. Some of the stars are cold, some are wrongly constellated and the astronomer is flying too high. At the moment anyway, theater Nichols, as distinct from film Nichols, seems to have been right to stick to lightweight plays. Here even his customary skill seems inhibited—possibly by awe.

*Book Note.* In 1956 the International Theater Institute sponsored *Stage Design Throughout the World Since 1935*, edited by René Hainaux and Yves-Bonnat, published in the US by Theatre Arts Books, a large and large-size collection of plates, some in color, with good notes, dealing with international design for the previous 20 years. In 1964 came a similar collection—same sponsors, same editors, same US publishers—dealing with work since 1950. Now comes the third volume, same editors, etc., *Stage Design Throughout the World Since 1960* ($39.95). Like its predecessors,

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this volume is unique and invaluable. The arrangement this time is different: instead of grouping plates by countries, from Argentina to Venezuela, the editors have grouped them by playwrights so that, for instance, we can see photographs of productions of Aeschylus in Italy, Germany and Holland side by side. I don't think the new idea is a clear-cut improvement over the earlier one; one is still tempted to think nationally about, let's say, the fascinating new designs in Japan—or about similarities between Israeli and Egyptian stage design! But this new method does give the sense of different vitalities examining the same subject matter. There are a few too many close-up photographs of actors, which belies the point of the project; still, for anyone interested in the subject, the book is indispensable.


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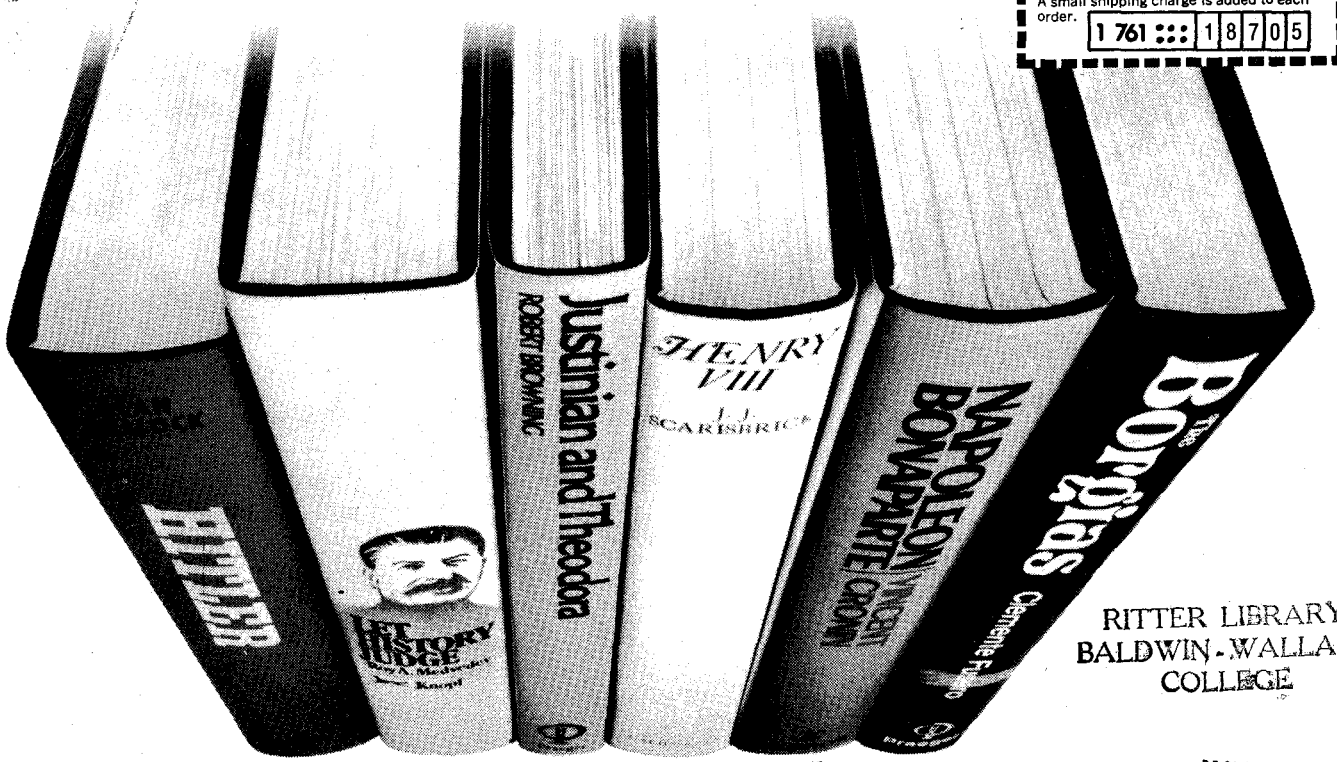


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